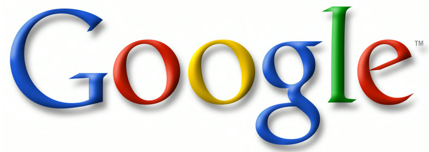

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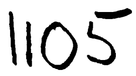

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LECTURES AND PAPERS

ON

THE HISTORY OF

THE REFORMATION

IN ENGLAND AND ON THE CONTINENT

BY THE LATE

AUBREY LACKINGTON MOORE, M.A.

HONORARY CANON OF CHRIST CHURCH
EXAMINING CHAPLAIN TO THE LATE AND PRESENT LORD BISHOPS OF OXFORD
FELLOW, TUTOR, AND DEAN OF DIVINITY OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE
AND TUTOR OF KEBLE COLLEGE, OXFORD

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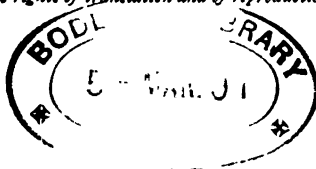

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PREFACE.

IMMEDIATELY after Mr. Aubrey Moore's lamented death, on January 17 last, many requests were made for the publication of the lectures on the Reformation, by which, perhaps, he was most widely known among the junior members of the University. This volume is the result; but it must in nowise be looked upon as presenting the lectures in anything like the final form contemplated by Mr. Moore, who had expressed his intention of rewriting them before publication. It is offered to his friends, known and unknown, as a memorial, and not as a finished and elaborate work on the subject of which it treats.

Mr. Moore delivered these lectures as the deputy of Canon Bright, the Regius Professor of Ecclesiastical History. He began to act in that capacity in Hilary Term, 1880, and from that time lectured regularly without a break in two out of the three terms of the academical year (the third term being devoted to "informal instruction"). He was announced to lecture in the Hilary Term of 1890, on the first day of which he passed to his rest.

The first two courses of lectures are dated 1882, at which time, if not before, the larger part of the fourth course was also committed to paper. The third course was written towards the end of 1883, or the beginning of 1884. All have been much revised, and in parts remodelled and condensed—the first course in 1888, the second in 1886, the third in 1887—while various notes show that the same treatment was being applied to the fourth course as late as the November of 1889.

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The manuscript of the lectures was found to be unexpectedly perfect, though there are several gaps which have, to a large extent, been filled up from the note-books of some of his pupils, and various scattered papers and memoranda of his own, which he had never worked into the text. All such additions have been carefully indicated in their proper places.

The lecture now printed as the Introductory Lecture originally stood, in two sections, at the head of an early recension of the course on the Continental Reformation, which was found in a separate note-book. The latter portions of this early sketch have been worked up into and utilized for the course as actually delivered in recent years, but the opening lectures were omitted, probably through want of time. They are now put in the forefront of this volume, not only because they seemed well worth preserving in themselves, but because they strike the key-note of the whole of Mr. Moore's lectures and writings on Reformation history.

Of the other lectures, three consisted, in Mr. Moore's manuscript, of printed matter already published. That on Wolsey (Course I. lect. 7) is made up of the revised proofs of an article by Mr. Moore, which appeared in the *Church Quarterly Review*, and that on Zwingli (Course IV. lect. 10) of a reprint of one of his *Guardian* articles. The third (Course III. lect. 18) is a copy of a *Guardian* article of my own on Cardinal Allen. It has been thought best to reprint these three articles intact, rather than mere outline notes taken from his pupils' note-books.

It is obvious that there were many parts of the vast subject on which Mr. Moore lectured that could only be touched upon in the time at his disposal. As to some of these points he had happily put his views on record, and hence the lectures are followed in this volume by some papers, the publication of which was asked for by different persons. The first five of these were originally published in the *Guardian*, the sixth is a set of notes prepared apparently for some popular lecture, while the last is a paper read before some society and now published for the first time. Though some of the thoughts—and a few phrases—contained in this

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last essay have appeared in Mr. Moore's Introduction to his "Holy Week Addresses" (being probably borrowed from the address now printed), it has been included in this volume in order that Mr. Moore's views on the four great Reformers—Wyclif, Luther, Zwingli, and Calvin—might be put in a connected form before his friends.

My own share in this volume has not been very large. I undertook the task of editing the lectures, partly because I had often talked with Mr. Moore about Reformation matters, and partly because I had myself paid some attention to the subject. I have not tried to write them up or to make a complete text-book out of them. My aim has been to place Mr. Moore's views before a larger circle of his friends than the audiences which used to throng to his lectures. Hence while correcting any absolute slips and inserting a few connecting words where necessary, I have as a rule confined myself to adding some references and occasional notes, while I have not felt myself at liberty to strike out a certain number of repetitions which occur in the original manuscript. I have carefully collated the manuscript with five note-books that have been placed at my disposal by three of Mr. Moore's pupils, inserting in the text here and there passages which had been spoken by Mr. Moore, though not written down in his manuscript. All insertions and additions—whether my own or derived from note-books—have, when extending to more than two or three words, been carefully distinguished from the rest of the lectures and enclosed within square brackets. I have verified Mr. Moore's references, as well as thoroughly revised and somewhat expanded various tables scattered through his lectures. Two of these—"The Ecclesiastical Legislation of Henry VIII.," and "The Tabular View of Non-Catholic Confessions, 1530–1555"—were printed by Mr. Moore for distribution to his pupils. Another, that giving the sessions of the Council of Trent, was found among his papers in a rough draft, but does not seem to have been actually employed by him for his lectures. The titles of the lectures are in each case the most recent indicated in Mr. Moore's manuscript. Finally, I have compiled a list of the

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chief works referred to in the text or in the notes, and have added an Index at the close of the volume.

I have to express my sincerest thanks to Mrs. Moore for her courtesy in allowing me to use her husband's books, and for her unwearied kindness in supplying me with various important pieces of information as to Mr. Moore's papers, etc. My editorial labours have been much lightened by her great consideration.

I have also to thank, for much help and encouragement, a brother Fellow of Mr. Moore's and my own, who does not wish to be named publicly. I must also acknowledge the readiness with which the editors of the *Church Quarterly Review* and of the *Guardian* acceded to my request to be allowed to reprint several of Mr. Moore's contributions to those periodicals. My hearty thanks are also due to the Rev. B. J. Kidd, M.A., of Keble College, Mr. L. Pullan, B.A., of Christ Church and St. John's College, and Mr. R. G. Mullins, B.A., of Keble College, for allowing me to make use of the full and accurate notes of Mr. Moore's lectures in their possession.

I have only to add that I alone am responsible for any slips in this volume, and to ask the indulgence of all who may read it for the unavoidable shortcomings of a laborious work carried out in the midst of many interruptions and engrossing occupations, but undertaken as a last tribute of respect and affection for one who had long been a dear friend of mine, and who was, for one short month, the last of his life on earth, a brother Fellow as well.

W. A. B. COOLIDGE.

MAGDALEN COLLEGE, OXFORD,
June 9, 1890.

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I.

LECTURES.

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HISTORY OF
THE REFORMATION
IN ENGLAND AND ON THE CONTINENT.

INTRODUCTORY LECTURE.

[This lecture, originally forming several divisions, was found in an old note-book at the head of an early recension of the course on the Continental Reformation. It does not seem to have been delivered to Mr. Moore's pupils, at least in 1888 and 1889, but it has been thought best to print it in this place, as it is of a general character.]

THE object of this Introductory Lecture is to offer certain clear and distinct points of view from which the history of the Reformation may be approached, and to suggest central subjects round which others will naturally group themselves.

Probably no period of history has been more differently handled than the period of the Reformation, and this diversity seriously complicates our study of it. The remedy for this is to know beforehand the different points of view from which the writers approach the subject, and having chosen our own, to bring others into comparison and relation with it. (Explain.)

First, a wide difference in results is caused by the difference between the secular and religious view of history. From a purely secular point of view history represents an endless concatenation of cause and effect. Great movements are

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found in the germ in the preceding age. Great men are the product of their time. Freewill is a mere name for the balance of motives in the individual, and so on. *Πᾶν ἐστιν ἄνθρωπος συμφορή*: only the ancient Destiny or Fate is exchanged for circumstances and the inviolable law of causation. The religious view, while admitting that effects must have causes, and tracing back great movements to their proximate causes, is not afraid to recognize the presence of God as a Supreme Cause, ordering great movements for His own purposes, raising up great men for the work that they have to do, bringing good out of evil, and making pride, and ambition, and vice subservient to the Divine Will.

In ecclesiastical history, of whatever period, the point of view chosen will affect the result infinitely more than in any other branch of history. It is possible, no doubt, to treat man as a money-getting animal as Political Economy does, or as a pleasure-seeking animal as some systems of Ethics do, and yet still to arrive at approximately true results. But to treat of any period of ecclesiastical history without believing in the Church as a Divine Society, is at once to place ourselves out of *rapport* with the thoughts and feelings of those who were the chief actors in the history, and so far to misunderstand the import and course of events. Any ecclesiastical history must of necessity be religious, or it will fall short of being a true history. It must recognize the fact that the Church was, and was believed to be, an institution of Divine origin, not merely the religious department of imperial or national history; it must admit the belief in the promised presence of its Founder, rendering it not indeed infallible (for the human is never sublimated in the Divine), but guarding it, purifying it, reforming it when necessary, and using even opposing and anti-Christian forces, as Cyrus was used for the restoration of the Jews.[1]

Now, the views of the Reformation with which we most

[1] Luther, in a passage from his "Tabletalk" quoted in D'Aubigné's "Reformation in Germ.," vol. i. pref. xiv., compares the history of the world to a game of cards in which God "dealt"!

On the general subject of a Religious *v.* the Fatalist and Positive view of History, see Sir James Stephen's "Lectures on the Hist. of France," Lect. i.

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frequently meet fall under three heads, two of them religious, the other non-religious.[1] The first two are broadly distinguished, the Papist and the Protestant; the last we may call the sceptical, or secular [including under either name the literary and philosophical].

I. The Papist View.

From the point of view of the Papist, which may be gathered, for instance, from such a standard book as Möhler's "Symbolism," the Reformation (so called) was the throwing off from the sound body of the Catholic Church the parts which were diseased and infected with the poison of heresy. It is usual for those who write from this point of view to emphasize the badness of the motives by which many of the Reformers acted, and even to assume bad motives where they are not known to exist. Few people would in our day defend the character of Henry VIII., for instance, but to say that the English Reformation was the work of ambition and lust[2] is as convenient and as true as for a Protestant to say the same of the policy of some of the Popes. From the Papist point of view, it is common to represent the Reformation as a sudden and violent outburst of heretical opinion, instead of being, as it was, the last term in a series of reforming movements within and without the Roman Church. Consistently with this one-sided conception of the movement we find an absolute ignoring of the reformation effected by the Council of Trent. Möhler contrasts the decisions of that Council with the various Protestant Confessions, forgetting that the bulk of the *practical* abuses against which the Protestants protested were recognized, admitted, and, in theory at all events, reformed. It is a remarkable fact that a reconciliation with the Protestants was considered possible long after the earlier meetings of the Council, and Contarini, as Legate of Pope Paul III. at Ratisbon in 1541, actually agreed with the four primary articles of the Lutherans, viz. *human nature*,

[1] See also Wylie's "History of Protestantism," pp. 57, 58.
[2] As Father Hutton in his book on the Anglican Ministry.

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original sin, *redemption*, and *justification*.[1] Political complications and, above all, the fear of giving too great unity to Germany contributed largely to the breakdown of these negotiations, but the fact remains that the more moderate Roman Catholics did not consider even the fundamental articles of the Protestants heretical, or incapable of being expressed in the old terminology of the Catholic Church. After the breaking off of these conciliatory negotiations the breach became constantly wider, many of the Protestant sects proceeding to the plain denial of the existence of a Holy Catholic Church. It is noticeable, too, that Roman Catholic historians of this period[2] exaggerate the connection of the Reformation movement with the literary and philosophical reaction against Scholasticism. The connection is no doubt a real one, but to represent Voltaire[3] and the Encyclopedists as the logical outcome of the Reformation movement is as irrational as to speak of scepticism as the last term in philosophy, instead of as the *reductio ad absurdum* of its own premisses. We shall say more of this under the third head, the sceptical view of the Reformation.

II. The Protestant View.

Under the head of a Protestant view of the Reformation many and widely different views are included, inasmuch as the name "Protestant," being the negative of Roman Catholic, may lawfully be claimed by many who reject as a relic of mediæval barbarism everything that relates to the Church, and speak of the Bible and Christianity in a way which would have horrified Luther or Calvin. Still it is quite possible to single out a representative point of view which may rightly be called the Protestant view, and which, speaking generally, for in detail they differ widely, is the point of view of our own Church and of the German Lutherans.[4] The

[1] See the whole section in Ranke's "Popes," i. pp. 110-128.

[2] See on this point Robertson's memoir of Möhler, pp. xxxiii.-xxxvi., contrasted with the much more temperate remarks of Möhler himself.

[3] See quotation from Comte in Stephen's "Lectures," i. p. 9.

[4] A fair and moderate statement of the German point of view will be found in Hagenbach, "Hist. of the Reformation," vol. i. p. 4 *sqq*. See Hardwick, closing paragraph of Introductory Chapter to his Reformation volume, p. 10.

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Protestant view of the Reformation regards it as "a *return* to Biblical Christianity, to the simple and pure doctrine of the Gospel, divested of all which Protestants regard as a later addition, as the "ordinance of men" and as a disfigurement of the primitive apostolic type of religion."[1] No break with the Roman primate was contemplated, any more than a break with the primitive Apostolic Church.[2] It was at first, like numerous previous movements which we shall notice in their place, an attempted reformation *ab intra*, an effort to get rid of admitted abuses, which afterwards proved to be so intimately connected with the very nature of the Papacy, that the leading Reformers felt compelled to attack the system of Romanism. How far a real reformation without renouncing the papal supremacy was possible will always be a subject on which men will take different sides. The conference at Ratisbon, to which we have already alluded, was an important crisis in the history of the Church. It seemed for a moment as if a reconciliation was possible, and if it had been brought about it must not only have prevented an open breach in the Church of Christ—it would have secured a real reformation of abuses, and probably a resetting of doctrines within the Roman Church. Such a reconciliation in God's ordering of His Church was not to be, and the Reformation took the form of an open break with the Church of the Popes. How bitter the opposition became from that time we know. The Roman Church, while still boasting its *semper eadem*, had the wisdom actually to reform many of its abuses, and to promise a more perfect reformation. The Protestants by the force of reaction were carried in many cases into a denial of the existence of a Church and of a divinely appointed ministry.

In the Church of England the form which the Reformation took was so different from the Continental form, that, while accepting in the main the Protestant view of the Reformation, the English Church approaches it in a much

[1] Hagenbach, i. p. 2.

[2] See and quote Luther's letter to Leo X. which accompanied his Theses (Hagenbach, vol. i. p. 104).

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more conservative spirit. The rejection of Roman jurisdiction on the grounds of the ancient rights of the English Church was the prominent feature, doctrinal and even practical questions being, at all events at first, of subordinate importance. The existence of errors in doctrine and practice, emphasized by the German Reformers, was, of course, freely used as an argument against the Roman claims, but they had been recognized, and attempts to reform them had been made in earlier years, by Grosseteste for instance, without any thought of throwing off the Roman allegiance. The point of view, then, that would be most natural to an English Churchman would be this: that the Reformation was the reassertion of the ancient independence of the English National Church, an independence which had never really been lost sight of since the days of the British Church, and that with the rejection of interference from "any foreign person whatsoever," the reforms so often attempted were made possible. A recasting of Catholic doctrine was not contemplated by Henry VIII., nor was any part of the Roman teaching rejected except that which was inseparably connected with the Pope's claim of universal jurisdiction, or with those abuses, financial or otherwise, on which so much of his power rested.

This accounts for the fact that the English Church avoided all that is distinctly Lutheran or Calvinistic in the reconstruction of its formularies, going back in every case to the primitive and Catholic in appeal from Roman doctrine on one side and the Reforming Confessions on the other.[1]

To compare the points of view of the English Church and the Lutherans[2] we must keep in mind the fact that Luther and his followers began with a protest against *practical abuses*, were led on from that to discover actual errors in *doctrine*, and finally were driven to renounce the papal allegiance. The English Church may be said to have begun at the other

[1] Illustrate by the doctrine of the Real Presence.

[2] From a Roman Catholic point of view a sharp distinction would be drawn between the *heresy* of Luther and the English *schism*. Many modern Roman Catholics speak of England as schismatical, but not heretical.

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end, first renouncing the Pope's jurisdiction, and then only gradually proceeding to a reconstruction of doctrine. Both hold the Protestant view that the Reformation was a necessity, that without a break with Rome no real reform was practicable. Both are steadily opposed to the theory of the various Protestant sects that the farther from Rome the nearer to truth, a theory which finds its logical development in pure rationalism on the one hand, or pure mysticism on the other.[1] (Explain.)

III. The Secular or Sceptical View.

What I have called the secular or sceptical point of view[2] is that which hails the Reformation as a great step, but only a step, towards an ideal end—the first impulse to a movement which, supported by the acquired privilege of free inquiry,[3] is pressing on continually, throwing down all barriers, rejecting all authority, whether human or Divine, casting dogma aside as the formulation of error, and gradually reaching on to its goal, the emancipation of the human spirit from all restraint, by breaking the bonds which connect it with the past.[4] This point of view is avowedly anti-Christian, though it admits of some kind of development of the religious instinct as necessary or useful in some cases. Anything like a creed is of course impossible, for a creed is a restraint, and dogmatism is stagnation.

[1] [This last paragraph was transferred by Mr. Moore to Course iv. lecture 2, and is printed here also simply for the sake of completeness.]

[2] A modern exposition of this point of view may be found in Mr. G. H. Lewes' "History of Philosophy," vol. ii., "Transition Period," chap. iii. §§ iii.-vi. He thinks it an advantage on the whole that men did not at once exchange the authority of the Church for the supremacy of Reason (*i.e.* scepticism), but made a stepping-stone of the purely *human* authority of the ancients, which was certain eventually to give way before "the necessary insurgence of Reason insisting on freedom" ("Hist.," vol. ii. chap. iii. § v. p. 90). See also a quotation from Comte in Stephen's "Lectures on the History of France," i. p. 8.

[3] [This calls to mind that old distich in which the consequences of unrestrained free inquiry are vividly described:

"Tota jacet Babylon; destruxit tecta Lutherus,
Calvinus muros, sed fundamenta Socinus."]

[4] See Hagenbach, i. p. 2.

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The element of truth in this point of view is to be found in the fact that, as a matter of history, such a transition from the Protestant to the secular position has frequently taken place, not only in individuals,[1] but in entire sects. The Reformation was a great reaction, and it is inseparable from all reactionary movements that the new side of truth which is brought forward is exaggerated till it becomes an error. To many a revolt against Roman doctrine and discipline was the beginning of a revolt against all authority, and the claim to appeal from Rome to the Bible or to primitive Christianity was supposed to justify the right of private judgment in the individual as to the choice of his religion or the rearranging of the Church's creeds.[2] This is no doubt the strongest argument against the Reformation that the Romanist can bring forward, that it served as a step towards secularism. Here the two opposites meet and separate. The Secularist rejoices in the identity of the reforming spirit with his own; the Romanist, admitting the identity, quotes it as an argument against the Reformation. The answer to both is to be found in the fact that real liberty may always become licence; but that is not an argument in favour of bondage. The Apostle, vindicating the liberty or freedom of the Spirit in contrast with the bondage of the law, does not forget to remind men that this liberty is often made a cloak for licentiousness. The *via media* is always the hardest to keep, and many are ready to prefer the least dangerous extreme. Absolute submission to Church authority, though it means the blind acceptance of many errors, is better, no doubt, than the wayward assertion of private judgment, which may mean absolute unbelief; just as, if we may compare heresies, Docetism is less dangerous to most than Arianism, but Catholic truth holds its course between the opposing extremes of Romanism and Secularism, of blind obedience and antinomianism.

[1] See memoir of Möhler, *loc. cit.*

[2] "'They who let the ocean in to new beds,' said Erasmus, 'are often deceived in the result of their toil.' 'Semel admissum non eâ fertur, quâ destinarat admissor'" (Epp. i. 953, quoted by D'Aubigné, i. 120). See parallel passages in Hagenbach, vol. i., p. 78. See Hardwick's remarks on the evil consequences of this, "Reformation," p. 9.

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Still it is necessary, in fairness, to admit that the Reformation, and the critical and literary study of the Sacred Writings, though at first undertaken in reverence and good faith, made possible that free and open discussion of sacred truth by men of all beliefs or none, which lends itself most easily to anti-Christian ends. But the Tübingen theology is not the necessary result of that study of the Bible which the Reformers revived, as the Roman authorities and the secularists assert, nor is it fair to judge the Reformation by a result of which it was only the occasion, not the cause.[1]

Coming now to the literary point of view, we can hardly, among secondary causes, allow too much importance to the connection of the Reformation with the Renaissance.[2] Of course, it would be as one-sided a statement to say that the Reformation was merely the religious side of the Renaissance, as to represent it as merely a step towards the destruction of Church and Creed. The Renaissance[3] marked the destructive and sophistic, the Reformation proper the constructive element in sixteenth-century thought. Still the old saying that "Erasmus laid the egg and Luther hatched it" is a very pregnant one. The Protestantism of reason naturally led to the Protestantism of religion. But the Protestantism of art and poetry had been the forerunner of both. Scholasticism reached its climax in the thirteenth century. In the hands of Thomas Aquinas a harmony between ecclesiastical Platonism and Aristotelianism was effected, Averroes was overcome, and the philosophy of Aristotle received the *imprimatur* of the Church. But an undercurrent of pure Platonism still

[1] See memoir of Möhler, especially p. xxxix.

[2] In many ways there is a parallel to be drawn between the sixteenth and the eighteenth centuries. Both maiked what in philosophical language would be called a wave of sceptical thought; old things were passing away, all things were becoming new, and in the transition period between destruction and reconstruction there was an unsettling of old-established beliefs, an age in which many were "destitute of faith but terrified at scepticism, a state in which men feel sure, not so much that their opinions are true, as that they should not know what to do without them" (Mill's "Liberty," p. 13), and such an unsettling of opinions is naturally taken advantage of by those to whom the restraints of religion are regarded as something to be got rid of at any cost.

[3] For a Roman Catholic's view of the Renaissance, see St. Geo. Mivart, "Contemp. Evolution," p. 24, *sqq*.

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existed, and was soon to assert itself. From the end of the thirteenth century a tendency in this direction was apparent. Cimabue (A.D. 1240–1300), revived the art of painting on canvas, and Giotto (A.D. 1276–1337), that of fresco painting; while in poetry Dante (1265–1321), the student of Virgil, gave to the world the "Inferno"; Petrarch (1304–1374), the singer of love, showed his enthusiastic passion for ancient writings; Boccaccio (1313–1375), in literature, showed how light a hold the Papal Church had over the morals of the day, and the same eagerness to study ancient models. In all alike there is the ardent desire to go back from the present to the past. But the study of the ancient models brought with it the old vices. "Men of the Renaissance discovered the antique world, and in their wild blind enthusiasm, in their ardent insatiable thirst for its literature, swallowed it eagerly, dregs and all, till they were drunk and poisoned."[1] This was what Erasmus feared.[2] Mr. J. A. Symonds[3] writes: "The contrast between the sacerdotal pretensions and the personal immorality of the Popes was glaring. . . . We find in the Popes of this period what has been already noticed in the despots—learning, the patronage of the arts, the passion for magnificence, and the refinements of polite culture alternating and not unfrequently combined with barbarous ferocity of temper and with savage and coarse tastes." "The corruption of Italy was only equalled by its culture. Its immorality was matched by its enthusiasm."

Religion seemed to have been for a long time losing its hold on the moral life of the people. Yet this age of moral corruption was the age of Leonardo da Vinci (1452–1519) and Michael Angelo (1475–1564) among the Florentines; of Raphael (1483–1520) among the Romans; of Titian (1477–1576), Paul Veronese (1530–1588), and Tintoretto

[1] *Cont. Rev.*, March, 1879, p. 657.

[2] See quotation in Milman's "Erasmus," p. 148, f.n. "Unus adhuc scrupulus habet animum meum, ne sub obtentu priscæ literaturæ renascentis caput erigere conetur Paganismus; ut sunt inter Christianos qui titulo pene duntaxat Christus agnoscunt, cæterum intus Gentilitatem spirant." Cf. Savonarola's attitude towards the New Learning.

[3] Renaissance, vol. i. p. 304–306.

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(1512–1594) among the Venetians. It was a significant indication of the state of feeling at the time that Pope Julius II. was able to demolish the venerable Basilica of St. Peter, "the metropolitan church of Christendom," in order to rebuild it in the style of a classical heathen temple.[1] The presence of this profane element in Renaissance art and literature, while it marked the protest against the narrow ecclesiasticism of the previous period, indicated at the same time the breakdown of religion and morality. When Leo X. succeeded Julius, in 1513, it was at its height. Leo himself, the patron of art, the friend of Ariosto, of Machiavelli, of Raphael, with his passionate love of music, with his gentle kindness and ready sympathies, would have been "a Pope absolutely complete," says Sarpi in his "History of the Council of Trent," "if with these he had joined some knowledge in things that concern religion, and some more propension unto piety, of both of which he seemed careless."[2] His "intellectual sensuality," as Ranke calls it, which made him so easily throw himself into the Renaissance spirit, blinded him to the fact that he was fostering that which was undermining the Catholic Church. In the cultivated intellectualism of the day, and the general diffusion of knowledge through the discovery of printing, it was the fashion to discuss all questions, apart from their Christian solution, on premisses drawn from the ancients. While the lower classes were sunk in the merest ceremonialism, it was characteristic of good society to doubt the Christian verities.[3] So Bandino writes, "One passes no longer

[1] Contrast this with the converse movement, when the apsis of the old basilica, with its Augusteum, became the chancel, with its images of Christ and His apostles. See Ranke's "Popes," vol. i. pp. 6 and 52.

[2] p. 4. See Mr. Gladstone's article in the *Cont. Rev.*, October, 1878, for a comparison between the Leonine and the Elizabethan age. The Renaissance showed the perfect separation between religion and morality. In some, as in Boccaccio, the result was simply paganism. It was a survival of the Epicurean *carpe diem.* In Bojardo and Ariosto it was but little better. But when the wave reached England, the paganism has gone, though the reaction against the monkish life and the vigorous assertion of the reality of the world of fact and of family life is the same. Boccaccio, Aretino, Bojardo, and Ariosto are pagan and anti-Christian; Chaucer, Shakespeare, and Spenser are at least negatively Christian.

[3] See Hagenbach's sketch of the general condition of religious feeling, i. 35.

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for a man of cultivation, unless one puts forth heterodox opinions regarding the Christian faith."[1]

When we come to look at the Reformation movement from a philosophical point of view, we naturally expect that theological animus will disappear, and that we shall be able to gather up into a unity the truths one-sidedly expressed by those who took an imperfect view of the whole.

A few words of preface are necessary. The history of thought is a progress, not a mere oscillation between opposite poles, but constantly a progress by reactions. One side of a truth is seized, exaggerated, and made the whole; a reaction comes; a new or forgotten truth is advanced, which in turn is in danger of forcing the old truth out of the field and provoking a new reaction. The extreme poles of thought are commonly spoken of as dogmatism and scepticism, both words being used, not in the theological, which is also the popular, sense, but in a technical and well-defined meaning. Dogmatism asserts the authority of certain discovered or revealed truths, and demands unhesitating submission to them. Scepticism questions everything, and asserts the right of the individual in his private judgment to accept or reject as he pleases. Dogmatism in its extreme form leaves no question open; scepticism in its extreme form suspends its judgment on all subjects. The dogmatic tone of Scholasticism had determined all questions by reference to the Church's decisions. Questions which fell altogether outside the ecclesiastical limits—questions, *e.g.*, of science and observation—were decided by an appeal to Aristotle, "the Philosopher" as he was called, or determined *à priori* by considerations of fitness in the teleological point of view. The revival of science, like the appeal to ancient originals in art and literature, was terribly fatal to this mode of reasoning. Facts were found to be opposed to the received theory as to what they ought to have been, and few men had the courage to say, "*Tant pis pour les faits.*" Hence, with the revival of learning, the old scholastic dogmatism, which had for four centuries held undivided sway, broke down, and the

[1] Ranke, i. 56, note.

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sceptical tendency, in the form of free and almost defiant inquiry, challenged all received truths. In the sphere of art and literature this spirit first appeared, then in natural science, and finally within the sacred precincts of ecclesiastical truth. The legal maxim *falsus in uno, falsus in omnibus,* was appealed to. The Church was proved false in its science—might it not be false in its theology as well?

The revival of learning, in the existing state of things, naturally took an anti-ecclesiastical turn, in spite of Leo's attempts to be its foster-father.

In the sphere of religion this revolt naturally took the form of an uprising of the subjective against the objective element. In all morals and religion two things are necessary. A really moral act must be both right in itself and done with a right motive. Real religion implies both the holding a true creed and the conscious acceptance of it as true. But these two elements easily separate, and then comes the question, which is the more important—to do what is in itself right, though the motive is not pure, or to act conscientiously, though the act itself be wrong? This is the form the question takes in morals. Aristotle states the question thus:[1] *ζητεῖται δὲ πότερον κυριώτερον τῆς ἀρετῆς ἡ προαίρεσις ἢ αἱ πράξεις, ὡς ἐν ἀμφοῖν οὔσης. Τὸ δὴ τέλειον δῆλον ὡς ἐν ἀμφοῖν ἂν εἴη*: but while admitting that an act to be perfectly moral must involve both these elements, he is also driven to admit that, if we must choose between the two, the intention has more to do with morality than the objective act, *οἰκειότατον γὰρ εἶναι δοκεῖ (ἡ προαίρεσις) τῇ ἀρετῇ, καὶ μᾶλλον τὰ ἤθη κρίνειν τῶν πράξεων.*[2] Such a view easily lends itself to the theory that as long as the motive is good the means used to gain the end are relatively unimportant, and hence we are not surprised to find the Jesuits basing their morals exclusively on Aristotle.

In religion exactly the same question appears. A perfect religion implies a true creed and an honest, or, as we say, a

[1] "Eth. Nic." x. viii. 5. [2] *Ibid.*, III. ii. 1.

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conscientious and intelligent, belief in it. The first without the last is formalism, a resting in that which in itself is true and right; the last without the first exalts conscientiousness above truth, and "honest doubt" above a true creed. The Roman Church had undoubtedly held fast the faith once delivered to the saints in the three Creeds. It had taught, what is after all one of the most difficult of all truths to accept, that God can give great gifts without a *quid pro quo*. In the grace of Holy Baptism, at least in the case of infants, we all admit this; but when the same truth was extended to the Mass, and the *opus operatum* was allowed to supersede the no less necessary preparation in the individual, a reaction was the natural result. This reaction then took the form of an assertion of the need of faith in the individual in what he professes, as against the blind acceptance of a system and a creed in itself true. "Better a living dog than a dead lion" was the watchword of this position. Better an honest and conscientious faith in some essential and fundamental truths of Christianity, than the unreal acceptance of all the decisions of Councils, however true. Such an assertion of the subjective element in religion was no doubt necessary, but it had its dangers. If Romanism as it then existed encouraged formalism and Pharisaism, the doctrine of the supreme importance of the subjective element, without any strong safeguards, opened the door to rationalism. The doctrine of "faith only," true as it is in one sense, easily gets perverted into a glorification of doubt.

From this point of view we are able to harmonize to some extent the conflicting theories [as to the Reformation] of Romanist, Protestant, and Secularist. To the Romanist this new wave of thought could mean little less than a revolution, a protest against all which they had come to identify with religion. To the Protestant it meant the revival of spiritual as against formal religion, the life of faith against the life of works. To the Secularist it was the breaking of the bonds of ecclesiasticism, and the admission of the right of the individual to choose his view of truth.

And yet, while Romanism is constantly represented at this

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time as a religion of barren forms and observances, there was always within the Church, and not unfrequently in the Popes themselves, an undercurrent of spiritual religion as real as any which was introduced by the Reformers. The spiritual life was not in its nature opposed to the forms and observances of the dominant religion. Often in the form of religious mysticism,[1] often in a devout life in the cloister, the truth of the immediate access of the soul to God was kept alive. Savonarola, Contarini, Sarpi, together with the authors[2] of the most highly spiritual books of devotion, are all instances of the existence of what some would call "Gospel truth" side by side and held consistently with the forms of the Roman Church. To quote these as foreshadowings or effects of the Reformation is not more fair than to speak of them as proofs that Romanism was not all formalism.

As the wave of thought broke upon the religious world, its effects were seen both within and without the Catholic Church. The "Oratory of Divine Love"[3] in the pontificate of Leo X. was an attempt to reform the Catholic Church *ab intra.* Among its members the doctrine of justification by faith, commonly assumed by both Papist and Protestant to be the exclusive property of Luther and his followers, held a prominent place. Reginald Pole, writing to Contarini, who had elaborated this doctrine in a treatise, says, "Thou hast brought forth that jewel which the Church was keeping half concealed."[4] In Naples Juan Valdez, in Modena Bishop Morone, Folengo the Benedictine, Bernardino Ochino, and Isidoro Clario,[5] are quoted as holding opinions analogous to, though probably not derived from, those of the Reformers.

[1] It is remarkable that Luther's devotion to the mystics, Tauler and others, was only balanced by his devotion to the Bible as the objective truth of God. Mysticism, whether in Plato, or the Catholic, or the modern Quaker, is that which seizes on the truth that the individual has immediate access to God or Truth, independently of "means of grace" or systems of philosophy.

[2] St. Bernard of Clairvaux, St. Bonaventura, Eckhart, Tauler, Nicolas of Basle, St. Catherine of Siena, Gerson, and Thomas à Kempis.

[3] See Ranke, vol. i. p. 101.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 103, quott.

[5] These represent the "Reform without Schism" party, all of them probably influenced by Savonarola. See Häusser, "Reformation," ch. xix., and the Life of Paleario.

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The same wave of thought had reached them, but their hope was to regenerate the Roman Church from within, while Luther lived to believe this impossible. The words of Isidoro Clario are typical. "No corruption can be so great," he says, "as to justify a defection from the hallowed communion of the Church. Is it not better to repair what we have than to endanger all by dubious attempts to produce something new?"[1] But it was not only in individuals that the signs of a reaction against formalism in religion and irregularity in practice showed itself. The rise of religious orders,[2] each with a rule stricter than that of the Church in which they were included, marked successive attempts at internal reform —to say nothing of the earlier Dominican and Franciscan societies. Both the Theatine and Barnabite orders, which arose at the Reformation period, are a sign of the same tendency, but more than all the institution of the Jesuits under Ignatius de Loyola. We shall have to speak of this order and their work in a later lecture; for the present it is sufficient to remark that the Jesuits, the avowed and successful opponents of the Reformation in Italy, in Spain, in Germany even,[3] were influenced by a tendency of thought identical with that which influenced the Protestants. We have seen that the Reformation consisted in bringing into prominence the subjective element in religion in counterpoise to the undue prominence previously given to the objective. If the immediate effect of this was to revive personal religion, its ultimate effect was often to exalt conscientiousness and a good purpose above truth and right action. In the Reformers this showed itself in a readiness to abandon the old faith, and change much that was good through fear of that which was bad, and, in extreme cases, to make faith a substitute for a holy life; in the Jesuits it led to subtle distinctions and casuistical avoidance of the

[1] Ranke, vol. i. p. 109.

[2] On the restoration or regeneration of Catholicism in the thirteenth century by St. Francis and St. Dominic, see Machiavelli, "Disc.," iii. 1. For an account of St. Dominic, see the *Quarterly Review*, vol. xxii. p. 79, by Southey. For the new orders of the Reformation age, see Hagenbach, chap. xxxv. [and Course iv. lecture 18 below].

[3] See Ranke, bk. v. sects. iii., iv., ix., etc.

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consequences of truths which they professed to accept. The Jesuit doctrine of "intention" is well known through the "Provincial Letters" of Pascal, and their readiness to do evil that good may come was a logical corollary of that doctrine.[1] But theological animus usually fails to see that these were connected with the Reformation spirit in the same way as were the conclusions of Voltaire and the Encyclopedists, not indeed as a logical and necessary consequence, but as an exaggerated and one-sided development.

[1] "Jesuitism was only rendered possible by the Reformation; it was by reflex action the Reformation's child."—Mr. Gladstone, *Contemporary Review*, October, 1878, p. 446.

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COURSE I.

THE REFORMATION IN THE REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

(1509–1547.)

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LECTURE I.

THE ENGLISH REFORMATION ECCLESIASTICAL AND POLITICAL, NOT DOCTRINAL.

THE ecclesiastical changes which took place in the reign of Henry VIII., were nothing more nor less than *a revolution under the forms of law.* A Reformation, if by that term we understand a recasting of Church doctrine and a rejection of what was distinctively Roman, it was not. The Formularies of Faith published in the reign, viz. the Ten Articles in 1536, the "Institution of a Christian Man" (Bishops' Book) in 1537, and the "Necessary Erudition" (King's Book) in 1543, were protests against Protestantism rather than against Romanism; while the Law of the Six Articles, passed in 1539, showed how thoroughly Roman in its doctrine the National Church of England still was.

Throughout the conflicts which raged between Church and State, or Church and king, there was unanimity on one point, viz. the opposition to heresy. Wolsey, Fisher, More, as well as Henry himself, had entered the lists in controversy. Warham, Tunstall, and others issued orders for the discovery and burning of suspected books.[1] The king, by proclamations and commissions, vindicated his right to the title "*Fidei Defensor.*" "Heretic" was the common name given at the time to those who held reforming opinions. Whether Lollard, Lutheran, or Anabaptist, all were grouped under the one head, and fell under the lash of the "whip with six thongs." Many of these heresies have been idealized, whereas not unfrequently they were communistic and socialistic rather than

[1] See Dixon, i. 34-36. See, too, Perry, p. 10, and quote from Brewer [i. 51, 52].

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theological. Yet, so far as these opinions attacked the abuses and the errors of the prevailing beliefs, they were leavening the minds of those who in the succeeding reign were to attempt a doctrinal reformation.

Turning to the *literary reformers*, as Perry calls them, there seems to have been a far less sharp opposition between the Old and the New Learning in England than on the Continent. On the Continent the attack of Erasmus and Von Hutten upon the friars had led to a false identification of the New Learning with reforming opinions. In England one of its most conspicuous defenders was Sir Thomas More, the friend of Colet and Erasmus.

Reformation in head and members had been the watchword of the fifteenth century; but all attempts at reformation had been checked by the prescriptive rights and vested interests of the Roman Curia. Separation from Rome, either local or constitutional or violent, had [not been dreamt of]. The freedom for reformation *ab intra*, which Luther won by a defiant rejection of Roman authority, England seemed to have gained by falling back on the constitutional and historical independence of the English Church. But in each case reformation was marred by the development of sects in which liberty degenerated into licence, while in England the newly recovered rights of the Church were wrested from her by the tyranny of Henry. We shall find, then, that the ecclesiastical changes of Henry VIII.'s reign fall under two heads: I. *The vindication of the constitutional rights of the English Church as against the Pope of Rome;* and II. *The unwarrantable attack upon the newly recovered rights by king and Parliament*, which made the reaction in Mary's reign possible. The people of England, in religious matters, always steadily sought to hold the balance between the two rival extremes of a Papacy, which touched their national independence, and a sectarianism, which touched their national life. They could make common cause with Henry so long as his war was with papal encroachments. Henry always had the tact to avail himself of the national feeling. In carrying out a selfish and unjustifiable end, he seemed to be checking papal encroachments. In the

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same way they supported him in his proceedings against the heretics. The separation from Rome, while it vindicated the constitutional liberties of the Church, made possible that comprehensive scheme of internal reformation which Warham had begun and Convocation was ready to carry out. Any spoliation of the Church or infraction of her rights from the side of the king seemed impossible as long as an Arundel or a Wolsey or a Warham was archbishop; but when Cranmer, the servile tool of Henry VIII., succeeded them, the Primate was the first to betray the liberties of the Church. Then all the forces of secularism or Erastianism, latent in England at the time, were let loose upon the Church, and the Defender of the Faith directed them. As he had before taken advantage of the national love of independence, so now he made use of the lawless and socialistic tendencies which Lollardism and Lutheranism had fostered, in an organized attack on the National Church. In the former case he wanted a divorce, and renounced the Roman Obedience because the Pope would not grant it; in the latter he wanted money, and stole it from the Church. The laity were too powerful to be attacked; the Church, separated from Rome, and deserted by its natural guardians, was not strong enough in its newly recovered liberty to withstand the attack.

Character of Henry VIII.—It is the fashion to whitewash the character of Henry VIII., either with a view of reversing the judgment of former historians, or as a means of defending the Reformation against those who speak of it as "engendered in beastly lust" (Cobbett), or "the work of ambition and lust" (Hutton). Such attempts are as unhistorical as they are unnecessary. The usurped power of the Bishop of Rome was repelled by a power as unscrupulous and usurping.[1] The good that accrued to the Church of England was certainly not included in Henry's project, while the subsequent rejection of certain Roman doctrines was distinctively opposed to such beliefs as he had. In truth, Henry's divorce was the *occasion* rather than the *cause* of the separation of England

[1] There is a curious parallel between Henry's procedure and Hildebrand's. See Southey, p. 77.

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from the Roman Obedience. While Rome still clung to the old imperialistic theory, the principle of nationalism had already supplanted it in Europe, and the tie which bound England to Rome was so slight that the mere will of the monarch was sufficient to break it.[1] The prerogative of the Crown, no less than the liberties of the Church, had been assailed by successive pontiffs, and Church and State were ready to agree to renounce the papal yoke. It only needed the strong hand of a Tudor to guide and direct the anti-papal feeling of the English nation.

Looking back over the history of which Henry's reign marks the crisis, we shall see the English Church between two fires—her liberties attacked now by king and now by Pope. At one time, by royal tyranny, she is driven into the arms of Rome; at another she sides with the king and State in defence of her national independence. In the reign of Henry we find open war between king and Pope, which ended in favour of the king; but the prize for which they fought belonged to neither. The Supremacy was, indeed, the constitutional right of the king, and in vindicating this he did but repel a papal encroachment; but the revenues of the Church, which the Pope had unlawfully appropriated under the forms of provisions, annates, Peter pence, etc., were as unlawfully claimed by the king, whose only right was might.

[The following pencil notes are the latest recension—probably that of 1888—of Lecture I., with some extracts, placed within brackets, from a pupil's notes of the lecture as delivered.]

Distinguishing characteristic of English Reformation throughout, the continuity of English Church. This continuity was (α) legal; (β) ecclesiastical; (γ) doctrinal; (δ) devotional.

Illustrate and quote Beard's Lectures, p. 311, and Selborne, "Church of England," ch. ii., § 1, [and p.] xx., and cf. p. x.; also Freeman's "Disestablishment and Disendowment."

(α) and (β) never in danger.

(γ) and (δ) endangered in Edward VI.'s reign.

We are dealing only with Henry VIII. and the Reformation under Henry VIII. called a revolution under the forms of law.

Not in any sense a doctrinal change.

Shown by (i.) Formularies; (ii.) Opposition to heresy.

Even the opposition between Old and New Learning less sharp in England.

[1] See Ranke's "History of the Popes," vol. i. p. 96.

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The Reformation in Henry's reign means two things:—

(α) Vindication of the constitutional rights of Church against Pope.

(β) Attack upon rights and property by king.

Part played by Henry—

(α) Under cover of constitutional acts he excused his own immorality.

(β) Under cover of readjustment he introduced a reign of terror.

Part played by Lutheranism and Lollardism very slight. Why?

Lollardism suspected for its "socialistic" tendencies.

Lutheranism repudiated by Church and State and king.

But incidentally the English and Continental Reformers played into one another's hands.

[If Charles V. had had a united Germany, certainly he would have taken strong ground in defence of his aunt. So if the Pope could have reckoned on Henry instead of having a quarrel with him, he could have crushed Lutheranism in Germany.]

Character of Henry VIII. Roman and Protestant views.[1]

[Romans anxious to make out that English Reformation stands or falls with character of Henry. Ultra-Protestants assent and try to whitewash Henry. Both unhistorical. High theological learning; moral nobleness at first, later a man "who never spared a man in his anger, or a woman in his lust."]

The DIVORCE the occasion, not the cause.

(α) Development of Nationalism *v.* Imperialism.

(β) The weakening of the Papacy morally as well as politically.

(γ) The growing "obstructiveness" of the mediæval idea embodied in the papal creed.

[Old and New Learning on Continent. So in England, though less marked, hence most orthodox. English Churchmen were themselves champions of the New Learning.]

The separation from Rome not (i.) a schism, nor (ii.) a differentiation from an earlier unity, but (iii.) the rejection of a claim which had never been admitted without protest, and had grown to a point at which it became unbearable.

The usurped power of the Papacy opposed by a no less unscrupulous king.

The prize they fought for—the "goods," not the "good" of the Church.

FROM THE NORMAN CONQUEST TO THE END OF THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY.

	KING.	ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.	POPE.
1066	William I., 1066–1087.		
1070		Lanfranc, 1070–1089.	Hildebrand, 1073–1085 (Gregory VII.).
1080	William II., 1087–1100.		
		See vacant, 1089–1093.	
1090		Anselm, 1093–1109.	

[1] See Brewer, i. 4 *sqq.*, and the *Church Quarterly Review*, No. 38, pp. 363, 364.

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	KING.	ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.	POPE.
1100	Henry I., 1100–1135.		
		See vacant, 1109–1114.	
1110		Ralph of Escures, 1114–1122.	
1120		William de Corbeuil, 1123–1136.	
1130	Stephen, 1135–1154.	Theobald, 1139–1161.	
1140			
1150	Henry II., 1154–1189.		
1160		Becket, 1162–1170.	
1170		Richard, 1174–1184.	
1180		Baldwin, 1185–1190.	
	Richard, 1189–1199.		
1190		Reginald Fitz Jocelyn, 1191.	
		Hubert Walter, 1193–1205.	Innocent III. 1198–1216.
	John, 1199–1216.		
1200		Stephen Langton, 1207–1228.	
1210	[Magna Charta, 1215.] Henry III., 1216–1272.		
1220		Richard le Grand, 1229–1231.	
1230		Edmund Rich, of Abingdon, 1234–1240.	
1240		Boniface of Savoy, 1240-1270.	
1250			
1260			
1270	Edward I., 1272–1307.	Robert Kilwardby, 1273–1278.	
		John Peckham, 1279–1292.	
1280			
1290		Robert Winchelsey, 1294–1313.	Boniface VIII., 1294–1303.
1300			Avignon Popes, 1305–1376. Schism, 1378–1414.

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LECTURE II.

RELATIONS OF ENGLAND AND ROME TO THE GRANTING OF MAGNA CHARTA (1215).

a. Theodore and Wilfrid.—We have said that the repudiation of the Pope's power in England in Henry VIII.'s reign was a vindication of the historical independence of the English Church. To justify this statement it is necessary to review the previous relations of England with the Roman see.[1]

i. With regard to the ancient British Church, which flourished from the middle of the second century, and sent its deputies to the Council of Arles (314), and was driven into Cornwall and Wales by successive irruptions of the barbarians from Schleswig-Holstein, etc., Anglo-Saxons and Jutes, it is plain that, as Blackstone says, this Church, by whomsoever founded, was a stranger to the Bishop of Rome and all his pretended authority. More than that, in its liturgies, baptismal rites, and ecclesiastical customs, it showed its Gallican rather than Roman origin.

ii. But the Italian mission of St. Augustine (597), and the beginnings of the National Church in the days of the Heptarchy, brought about the first collision between Roman and British Christianity. In those days Pope Gregory I. was on the throne, and his wise and liberal policy did much to neutralize the distinctly "Roman" views of St. Augustine. If Roman Christianity eventually triumphed over British Christianity, the English Church was independent of the Pope, protected in great measure by local separation from Roman interference. The primacy of Rome was undoubtedly allowed at a very early period, but this was something different, both in degree and in kind, from the claims made by later Popes.

[1] See Canon Creighton's paper on the Mediæval English Church and Rome, read at the Church Congress of 1887.

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iii. About three-quarters of a century after St. Augustine's mission to the Anglo-Saxons, a priest was chosen to fill the vacant see of Canterbury, the metropolitical see of England. He was one of those who had been trained by the Roman disciples of Pope Gregory, "a good man and fit for the episcopate."[1] The choice of such a man, and still more the determination to send him to Rome for consecration, show already a Romish bias on the part of "the Church of the English race." The priest selected died of malaria at Rome, and the Pope, never backward to use an advantage, appointed a monk then living at Rome to the vacant see. This was *Theodore of Tarsus*, the first Archbishop of All England, who was consecrated on March 26, 668, and who became the reformer and organizer of the English Church, and in some sense its second founder.[2]

iv. *Appeal of Wilfrid*, A.D. 678.—So far it seemed as if the Roman influence was making rapid way in England, and that by the will of the English people. Yet it was only a few years after Theodore's appointment that the celebrated appeal of Wilfrid took place. Wilfrid, as "Bishop of the holy Church of York," objected to the subdivision of his diocese, which was part of Theodore's scheme of re-organization, and determined to appeal to Rome (A.D. 678). In a provincial council under Theodore he would have had no prospect of success, and he therefore left his diocese, and threw himself into the arms of the Apostolic see, which even Theodore must respect.[3] The reigning Pope, Agatho, supported the appeal, and ordered the reinstatement of Wilfrid in his original diocese. The appellant returned triumphant with the Roman decree, with its leaden "bullæ" and "apostolic" seal, only to find that both king and Witan refused to recognize it and, with the consent of the bishops, committed Wilfrid to prison,[4] from which he was not released till the death of Alfred, King of Northumbria. If the Roman appointment and consecration

[1] Bright, "Early Chapters," p. 217; Bede, iv. 1.

[2] *See* Hook's "Life of Theodore;" Bright, "Early Chapters," pp. 220, *sqq.*; Bede, iv.

[3] Bright, p. 285.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 298.

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of Theodore point in one direction, the rejection of papal authority, in the case of Wilfrid's appeal, points as definitely in the other.

v. *Regulars and Seculars—St. Dunstan.*

The beginning of the English Church *monastic*—By degrees two orders, regulars and seculars—Abbeys *v.* rural deaneries, archdeaconries, etc.—Monasteries devastated by Danes—Seculars take the place of regulars—St. Dunstan and monastic revival.[1]

Three centuries later, in the days of St. Dunstan (archbishop 961–988), we find the Church rent by the schism between the seculars, or parish clergy, and the regulars, or monks, chiefly of the Benedictine rule. St. Dunstan, with the Pope at his back, and strong in Divine revelations,[2] as first abbot of the Benedictine rule in England, restored the monastic system which the Danish inroads had almost destroyed, and inaugurated an attack upon the seculars, enforcing celibacy on all; and, after enlisting the king, Edgar, in his cause by a miracle,[3] ousted them from the cathedrals and churches, and filled their places with monks. The Roman influence in England now rapidly, but secretly advanced, though, as far as we can see, the sympathies of the people, and of the king himself, were with the oppressed seculars. It is soon after this time that we hear of exemptions specially granted to monasteries by king or Pope. The Conqueror exempts Battle Abbey (St. Martin de Bello) from episcopal control, and a similar exemption is granted, at his request, to the Abbot of Bury St. Edmund's by Pope Alexander II. This exemption from episcopal control brought with it lax discipline and lax morals, and it was the exempt monasteries which were always attacked by pre-Reformation kings.[4] Exemption from episcopal visitation, and consequently from any inspection whatever, was the beginning of moral deterioration.

The centuries which intervened between the revival of

[1] Dixon, i. 313, *sqq.* [2] Southey, pp. 57, 65. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 65.
[4] See Lecture XV. See too, J. J. Blunt, pp. 24–34; Dixon, pp. 313–315.

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monasticism by St. Dunstan and the advent of the Friars, 1221 and following years, witness the rise and fall of the monastic system in England. Cluniacs, Cistercians, Carthusians, the military orders of the Hospitallers and Templars, besides those who followed the original Benedictine and Augustinian rules, threatened to absorb the Church of England. They constituted the strength of the Papacy in England, since their first duty was to their order, and the head of each order was an alien. But their enormous wealth, wrung from the almost ruined seculars, was fatal to them, and, long before the Mendicant Orders came, had made them an object of dislike to the people of England.

vi. The later phase of monasticism represented by the Friars was a new means of extending Roman influence in England. The four chief orders—the Franciscans, or Friars Minor, or Grey Friars; the Dominicans, or Black Friars; the Carmelites, or White Friars; and the Augustinians—came as religious reformers, attacking the wealth and luxury of the regulars on the one hand, and the ignorance of the seculars on the other. They were mission priests who introduced a reformation, and in their best days had the sympathies of the nation with them. But their reformation engendered schism, and their sectarian hatred and jealousy of one another made their degeneration rapid, till, in the time of Erasmus and Luther, they were the butt of every tavern idler, despised for their vice and ignorance, and hated, as even more distinctly Pope's men than the older monks.[1]

β. *Norman Conquest—Magna Charta.*—But while Rome had thus been secretly gaining ground in England through the monastic system and the Mendicant Orders, more than one direct collision had been taking place between England and the Pope. The rapid development of papal power which we will later sketch (see Course IV., lectures 2 and 3) was mainly the work of three Popes, Hildebrand (1073–1085), Innocent III. (1198–1216), and Boniface VIII. (1294–1303).

[1] For the Friars in their best days, see Grosseteste's "Letters;" on the other side, see Langland's "Piers Plowman," and the "Canterbury Tales," also Wright's "Political Poems and Songs;" and J. J. Blunt, p. 42, *sqq*.

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In the reign of the latter a reaction against papal claims was initiated by Philip le Bel in France, and Edward I. in England.

The first of these direct collisions was in the time of William the Norman. HILDEBRAND was now on the papal throne, and the struggle for supremacy between Church and State, the Pope and the Emperor, was beginning on the Continent. But William, though he had, after the example of Charlemagne, patched up a defective title by papal approval, altogether refused in return for this to do fealty for his crown, and only allowed Peter pence to be paid as a benefaction.[1] It was, no doubt, a dangerous precedent for a King of England to call in the Pope to help him against the English people; but William was strong enough to maintain his independence even of Hildebrand. Every Churchman was now forbidden by William to leave the kingdom or acknowledge any one as Pope without the royal permission, or to excommunicate a noble or publish any letters from Rome without his leave,[2] and Lanfranc and Thomas were forbidden to go to Rome to receive the pall. But this royal assertion of the independence of the English Church and nation brought about afterwards the very thing which William dreaded. While LANFRANC was Primate, he was able to protect the rights of the Church, as William was to defend the independence of the nation (*e.g.* Odo, William's brother, was brought to trial[3]); but after his death the tyranny of *the Red King* compelled the Church to appeal to the only authority which could counterbalance it, viz. the see of Rome. It was thus that "the influence of Rome," not only in England, but throughout Europe, "owed its origin and extent to the vice and oppressions of the kings, who were, in their turn, the victims of it."[4] William Rufus had no scruples about providing himself with money by keeping abbacies and prelacies vacant, and appropriating their revenues. For four years the see of

[1] [See Bishop Stubbs' "Constitutional History," i. 285; and Mr. Freeman's "Norman Conquest," iv. 432–434.]

[2] [See the text of William's rules, quoted from Eadmer, in Bishop Stubbs' "Select Charters," p. 82, and the bishop's comments on them in his "Constitutional History," i. 285, 286.]

[3] Southey, p. 74. [4] Short, p. 29.

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Canterbury was kept vacant, and it was only when the king fell sick that he appointed (1093) ANSELM[1] to the primacy. Anselm's vindication of the rights of the Church led to a rupture between him and William, and the king now appealed to Rome, promising to acknowledge the Pope on condition of his deposing Anselm. The papal legate received the king's recognition, but instead of deposing Anselm, confirmed him in the primacy, whereupon the archbishop was compelled to fly the realm.

The next reign (Henry I.) witnessed the controversy about *investitures*. Here again the Church of England was assailed by the king on the one hand, and by the Pope on the other, and the question at issue was really that which, on any showing, belonged to the National Church—the revenues of bishoprics, abbacies, etc.[2] The Normans had usurped the right of giving mitres and monasteries to whom they would.[3] The unscrupulous Rufus had used this right in such a way as to imperil the National Church. He had put up the sacred offices to auction, or retained them in his hands, as he did with the archbishopric of Canterbury, the bishoprics of Winton and Sarum, and a dozen good abbacies.[4] It was probably the knowledge of this abuse that led Anselm during his exile to take part in the council held by Urban [in the Lateran, 1099], in which *princes were forbidden under pain of excommunication to make investitures.* On the strength of this Anselm, who had been recalled by Henry I., refused to do homage to the king, and the question of investitures was fought out to the bitter end, and resulted, as it had done on the Continent, in a compromise. The king gave up the right of investiture, the Pope allowed homage for temporalities.[5] (N.B. Henry had promised at the beginning of his reign

[1] [See Dean Church's admirable life of that wonderful man.]

[2] "How often was it a mere race of fraud and wickedness, the actual rights of the Church and the Metropolitan having been overborne, which should get his own way, the King or the Pope!"—Burrows, "Church and State," p. 27. For ecclesiastical elections afterwards, see *ibid.*, p. 26.

[3] J. J. Blunt, p. 54.

[4] See *ibid.*, p. 53, and "Angl. Sac.," i. 272.

[5] [See Bishop Stubbs' "Select Charters," p. 97, and his "Constitutional History," i. 316, 317.]

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neither to sell, let, nor retain benefices, and to restore its own ministers to the Church.[1])

In the reign of STEPHEN, *a papal legate* had obtained a firm footing in England.[2] He had secured this by the internal dissensions of Church and State, by whom he had been in turn called in. He was at first "*legatus a latere*," and as such could override the authority of Church or State, because in him was represented the majesty of Rome. But this intrusion of a "foreign person" was resisted by the Church and nation, and Rome, by a master stroke of policy, disarmed opposition and confirmed her ascendency by identifying the legate with the archbishop.[3] The Archbishop of Canterbury was now not only metropolitan—he was "*apostolicæ sedis legatus;*" more than that, he was "*legatus natus*" instead of "*legatus a latere.*" (Just so the pride and independence of the English Church and people were satisfied when Anselm was declared "*papa alterius orbis*" by the Council of Bari, 1098.[4]) The *legatus natus* henceforth became the stalking horse for papal aggressions, while the *legatus a latere* was always ready in reserve. (It is noteworthy that the substitution of the title *metropolitanus* for *apostolicæ sedis legatus* marked the complete rejection of the Roman Obedience by Cranmer.[5])

HENRY II., who had so far acknowledged papal claims as to accept Ireland as a grant from the Pope (1154), nevertheless stands out as the champion of English liberties, both in Church and State, as against foreign intrusion. The *Constitutions of Clarendon* (1164) dealt a serious blow at the Pope's power in England. Their objects were to preserve the rights of the Crown, to prevent appeals to any foreign court unless by licence of the King, to forbid revocation of causes from civil to ecclesiastical courts, to regulate ecclesias-

[1] Southey, p. 81. On the whole question, see *ibid.*, pp. 82, 83.

[2] [For earlier instances of papal legates in England, see Bishop Stubbs' "Constitutional History," iii. 298, 299.]

[3] This was in 1125 (Burrows, p. 28). William of Corbeuil was the first archbishop who was legate [bull of Honorius II., 1126. From 1221 the Archbishops of Canterbury were *legati nati*. See Bishop Stubbs' "Constitutional History," iii. 299, 300].

[4] See Dixon, i. 148, f.n.

[5] *Ibid.*, i. 240, f.n.

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tical appointments so that they might not fall into the hands of the Pope, to enforce the baronial duties of the bishops, to exercise supervision over ecclesiastical trials of clergy, and to extend royal protection from ecclesiastical censures to persons connected with the king.[1] Their drift was mainly anti-papal, and BECKET, who had at first sworn to observe the Constitutions, becomes the champion of the Pope against the Church and State of England. He even resigns into the Pope's hands his episcopal ring, with which he had been invested by the king, and confesses that he has not entered by the true door into the sheepfold. The Pope reinvested him, and promised never to desert him.[2] In the long conflict which ensued excommunication and interdict were threatened and met almost with defiance. Any person carrying an interdict to England was to be punished as a traitor, and Peter Pence was ordered to be paid into the royal treasury. Becket's murder (1170) and the king's enforced penance secured a triumph for the papal cause (though the conditions of pardon published centuries afterwards, in which the king and his son engaged for them and their successors to hold the kingdom of England in fee from the Pope, are a manifest forgery), and the tomb of Becket became the monument of the Pope's triumph over the king, only to be overthrown when Henry VIII. discovered him to be a false saint and a traitor to the Supreme Head of the Church.

In the reign of JOHN the strongest of the Popes, Innocent III., was on the throne of St. Peter. The quarrel

[1] But quære, Were not the Constitutions anti-papal, but also anti-clerical? And did not the first clause of Magna Charta, while accepting the anti-papal, implicitly correct the anti-clerical tendency? [See the text of the Constitutions in Bishop Stubbs' "Select Charters," pp. 137–140, and his comments in his "Constitutional History," i. 464–466; iii. 330. He says, "They are no mere engine of tyranny or secular spite against a churchman; they are really a part of a great scheme of administrative reform, by which the debateable ground between the spiritual and temporal powers can be brought within the reach of common justice, and the lawlessness arising from professional jealousies abolished." Though Henry had to renounce them in 1172, on receiving absolution for Becket's murder—and thereby allow appeals to the Pope—"they formed the groundwork of the later customary practice in all such matters." See, too, "Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," i. 29, 30.]

[2] See Southey, p. 95; Short, p. 33, f.n.

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about the appointment of Stephen Langton to the archbishopric, the excommunication and interdict, and the subsequent submission of the king, are too well known to repeat. The consequence of this insult to the English nation was Magna Charta, the first article of which declared that the Church of England should be free and enjoy its whole rights and liberties inviolable.[1] However vague this clause might be, it clearly re-enacted all that was most offensive to the Pope in the Constitutions of Clarendon. Langton was ordered to excommunicate the barons, and refusing to do so, was suspended. In the next reign we find him again as the champion of the liberties of Church and State, obtaining from Henry III. a confirmation of the Great Charter, which was in the main probably his own work.[2]

LECTURE III.

THE RELATIONS OF ENGLAND AND ROME FROM HENRY III. TO HENRY VIII.—ANTI-PAPAL LEGISLATION.

HENRY III.

FROM this time, as Hume says (c. xii. 1253), avarice, more than the ambition of the see of Rome, was the great ground of complaint, and thus the grievance of England against Rome was closely parallel to the grievance of the State against the Church. HENRY III., who had sworn fealty to the Pope and renewed the homage which John had paid, was yet compelled by Stephen Langton to confirm Magna Charta in 1225 (9 Hen. III.),[3] the confirmation being witnessed by the arch-

[1] [This expression is a repetition of the charters of liberties issued by Henry I. and Stephen early in their reigns, and, as appears from the sentences which follow it, refers primarily to the right of free election to bishoprics and abbacies granted by John on November 21, 1214. See Bishop Stubbs' "Select Charters," pp. 100, 120, 289, 297; "Constitutional History," i. 533.]

[2] Short, p. 35; Southey, p. 164 *sqq*. See a good summary in Short, p. 38.

[3] [See it in Bishop Stubbs' "Select Charters," p. 353. It mainly agrees with the reissue of 1217; *ibid.*, p. 344.]

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bishop, twelve bishops, nineteen abbots, and the temporal peers, and in return for this the clergy voted him one-fifteenth as a self-imposed tax.[1] This amounted to £59,000;[2] but the oppressions on the side of the Papacy had increased, till the king and nobles complained to the Pope. These money grievances consisted (1) of TALLAGES, an exaction generally of one-twentieth, which the Pope, as feudal superior, claimed when his necessities required it. Henry forbade these tallages, but his prohibition was withdrawn, and the clergy compounded with the pontiff for eleven thousand marks.[3] (2) The Pope's interference with the rights of patrons. The papal PROVISIONS, as they were called [by which the Pope provided beforehand a person to fill a benefice on the next vacancy], had transferred all the best livings to Italians; and foreign clergy at this time drew sixty thousand marks a year, a sum larger than the revenue of the Crown. The battle was fought on the part of the lay patrons by Robert Thwinge, a Yorkshire knight, who, after taking the law into his own hands for eight months, appealed to Rome and received a bull from the Pope admitting the injustice of the "provision." On the part of the clergy, Grosseteste of Lincoln[4] procured a similar admission from Innocent IV., and boldly stated that the system of provisions was "contrary to the good of the Church and the welfare of souls."[5] Yet the abuse went on.

EDWARD I.

Under the greatest of the Edwards, if papal tyranny had little power, the Church was left at the mercy of the king, who exacted what he pleased from the clergy, and when they

[1] Annates were under Edward I. transferred for two years to the Crown.

[2] Lingard, ii. 196. [Bishop Stubbs, in his "Constitutional History," ii. 38, says the amount was 86,758 marks and twopence.]

[3] Lingard, ii. 206.

[4] See Perry's "Life of Grosseteste;" and Lingard, ii. 384. See Grosseteste's "Letters" (Rolls Series edition), cxxxi. and also cxxviii. See two letters (preserved by Matthew Paris), written in 1247 to Innocent IV., and others, in Dixon, vol. i. pp. 185, 186, f.n.

[5] Lingard, ii. 207. Grosseteste's "Letters," *ut supra.*

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would not or could not pay, outlawed them. He was the Henry VIII. of the thirteenth century. He denied the Pope's right of interference, limiting papal exactions that there might be more for himself to exact, passing the great Mortmain Statute, plundering the monasteries and churches, and refusing to pay the almost immemorial Peter pence. (Protests against Rome, hitherto informal, now more definite. With the beginning of Parliament, 1295, there comes anti-papal legislation. The 1534 Parliament simply takes up the old statutes.) The first anti-papal statute was passed in the last year of Edward I. (1307 [1]). It was an Act limiting the exactions of the papal procurator, and was referred to at the time of the passing of the great Act against Provisors in Edward III.'s reign (1343).

In the reign of Edward III. the beginning of the separation from Rome was apparent. The Parliament declared that the taxes paid to the Pope exceeded five times those paid to the king. These taxes consisted of—(i.) Provisions of bishoprics and other benefices; (ii.) Fees for appeals; (iii.) Peter pence; (iv.) Annates or first-fruits; and (v.) The census of a thousand marks promised by King John; to which we may add the unauthorized extortions of the papal tax-collectors. Of these five sources of revenue, only one, the annates, seems to have been untouched by Act of Parliament, and this only because a compromise was effected between Pope and king.[2]

(1) and (2) PAPAL PROVISIONS [3] AND APPEALS. The former abuse had grown up mainly through the action of the kings of England, who appealed to the Pope for or against some particular appointment; by degrees the Pope had gained the right to appoint to almost every bishopric. On the whole the king did not object, as the pontiff was generally more tractable than the chapters,[4] but at last the Pope went too

[1] [At the Parliament of Carlisle. See Bishop Stubbs' "Constitutional History," ii. 155, 156; iii. 328.]

[2] See Lingard, iii. 132.

[3] [See Bishop Stubbs' "Constitutional History," iii. 308–316, 327–330. First as regards prebends, 1226, then as regards sees, 1313.]

[4] Lingard, iii. 128.

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far, and, in preferring William de Gainsborough to the bishopric of Worcester (1350), entrusted to him the temporalities as well as the spiritualities. This invasion of the royal prerogative was compromised, the nominee repudiating what the Pope had given and receiving it again from the king, and this fiction continued till the reign of Henry VIII. But the statutes against provisors, dating back as early as 1343 (17 Edw. III.),[1] struck a blow at the papal power, from which it never recovered. In 1351 a new statute, commonly known as THE Statute against PROVISORS (25 Edw. III., st. 4, c. 22), was passed, which provided that elections should be free and the rights of patrons preserved, and that, in the event of a papal provision or reservation, the collation should fall to the king. It was found that the statute was evaded[2] by the appeal to Rome. The "provided person" appealed to the Pope against the nominee of the patron or king. Hence the Statute against Provisors logically necessitated the STATUTE OF PRÆMUNIRE,[3] which made it treason to appeal to the Pope against the king. This was passed two years later (27 Edw. III. stat. 1, 1353), and, twelve years afterwards, all the former statutes were confirmed (38 Edw. III. stat. 2, 1365) and extended. These Acts of Provisors and Præmunire, if they could have been enforced, deprived the Pope of two main sources of his income from England, viz. those derived from provisions and appeals.

(3) PETER PENCE was a tax paid since the days of Offa of Mercia (787). It was a voluntary offering, given partly as alms, and partly in return for a house in Rome set apart for the accommodation of English pilgrims.[4] It soon became

[1] [This ordinance was never enrolled as a statute, and never acted on (Bishop Stubbs' "Constitutional History," iii. 329).]

[2] [The lords spiritual did not formally assent to this statute, and it was from the first evaded largely by the king requesting the Pope to "provide" the person recommended to the chapter for election. See Bishop Stubbs' "Constitutional History," iii. 314, 329.]

[3] [*Ibid.*, iii. 331, 332. "The name 'præmunire' is taken from the opening word of the writ by which the sheriff is charged to summon the delinquent." See Bishop Stubbs' "Constitutional History," iii. 330, where it is pointed out that *the* Statute of Præmunire was passed in 1393.]

[4] [See Bishop Stubbs' "Constitutional History," i. 230; ii. 328, 415.]

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commuted, and was claimed as a right by the Popes. Several of the kings of England had, however, expressly refused to recognize it as other than an act of grace, and under both Edward I. and Edward III. it was discontinued, though paid in later reigns, till it was abolished by Henry VIII. (1534).[1] Baronius and others represent Peter pence as a quit-rent paid to Rome for the kingdom of England!

(4) ANNATES, or first-fruits, were originally sums paid only on livings in the Pope's gift, but the system of papal provisions had so increased this abuse, that the first-fruits of many bishoprics went to the Pope's treasury.[2] Amongst the inferior clergy, every promotion involved the payment of annates. In 1246, according to Lingard,[3] Boniface, Archbishop of Canterbury, obtained from Innocent IV. the first year's income of all benefices in his province which should fall vacant during the next six years; other bishops did the same, and Clement V., in Edward I.'s reign, reserved all the first-fruits of the next two years, while John XXII. (temp. Henry IV.) extended this to three years. This payment of annates had been abolished by Gregory the Great, and was declared illegal at the Council of Basle, 1435, but in the interval they were a growing burden on the clergy. A compromise was effected in the reign of Edward III., by which the Pope agreed to remit the first-fruits, the king remitting the penalties incurred under the statutes against provisors. The payment of annates was, however, definitely limited by a statute (6 Hen. IV. c. 1, 1404), which spoke of the "horrible mischiefes and damnable customs" of compounding with the Pope's treasury.

(5) The grant of the CENSUS, amounting to a thousand marks, had been made by King John in acknowledgment of his dependence on the Pope. This had been paid or refused according to the varying relations of Pope and king, till, at the death of Edward I., seventeen thousand marks were due, and in 1366 Pope Urban V. demanded the arrears of the last

[1] See Dixon, i. 183, 186.

[2] Lingard, iii. 127.

[3] [Bishop Stubbs, in his "Constitutional History," iii. 337, says 1256, be Alexander IV.]

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thirty-three years. This Edward refused, and the prelates, with whom the temporal peers concurred, determined that "neither John nor any other person could subject the nation to another power without the consent of the nation."[1] WICLIFFE on this occasion appears as the champion of national independence,[2] though, according to Lingard, it was on Erastian, if not socialistic grounds. At all events, it was because of the attitude which he assumed on this matter that he was sent as ambassador to the Pope (1374) on the subject of papal provisions. From this time nothing more is heard of the tribute promised by John.

But Rome continued to draw large sums from England, by bulls, dispensations, the pallium, appeals, and provisions which still set the statutes at defiance, and made them, in spite of their constant confirmations in succeeding reigns, little more than a dead letter.

In the following reign (Richard II.), the former statutes against provisions and appeals were confirmed. Several glaring evasions led to more strict legislation, particularly in 1390 (Provisors) and 1393 (Præmunire). Before the last of these, the three estates of the realm were consulted as to what they would do (i.) if the Pope were to employ excommunication, or (ii.) if he were to attempt to translate the prelates to foreign sees; and the answer was that such excommunication would be to invade the rights of the Crown, which they were determined to support. The result of this was the great Præmunire Act, 16 Ric. II. c. 5, which finally settled the matter. Provisions in favour of aliens (except cardinals) were abolished, and the Pope, while still clinging to the right of "provision," appointed the nominee of the Crown.[3] The wording of this great anti-papal statute is remarkable as showing the pre-Reformation view of the Royal Supremacy: "And so the Crown of England, which hath been so free at

[1] Lingard, iii. 127. [See the extract from the Parliamentary Rolls printed by Bishop Stubbs in his "Constitutional History," ii. 415, f.n.]

[2] See Lewis' "Wicliffe," p. 363. [Also Mr. Moore's articles on Wyclif, included in Part II. of the present volume, and Mr. R. L. Poole's volume on Wyclif, in the "Epochs of Church History" Series.]

[3] Lingard, iii. 173.

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all times, that it hath been in no earthly subjection, but immediately subject to God in all things touching the Regality of the said Crown and to none other should be submitted to the Pope, and the Laws and Statutes of the Realm by him defeated and avoided at his will, in perpetual Destruction of the Sovereignty of the King our Lord, his Crown, his Regality, and of all his realm which God defend" (16 Ric. II. c. 5, 1393).[1]

In the succeeding reigns, we get little more than confirmations of the Provisors[2] and Præmunire statutes; for the great schism in the Papacy had already begun, and Western Christendom was divided into a French and an Italian Obedience, recognizing different Popes, till the breach was healed by the Council of Constance, 1414.

2 Hen. IV. c. 4. No papal bulls to have force, even with royal licence, 7 Hen. IV.

4 Hen. V. c. 4. Pope's bulls and licences void.

Pope Martin V. demands a repeal of the "execrable" Statute of Præmunire from the Archbishop of Canterbury, and writes to the king that the Statute of Provisors is "an abominable law, which will infallibly damn every one who observes it."[3]

Yet, in spite of legislation, no less than £160,000 was paid to the Pope for first-fruits, palls, bulls, etc., between the second year of Henry VII. and the rejection of papal authority by Henry VIII., that is, in forty-eight years.

[The following notes, in ink, are the latest recension—that of 1888—of the earlier portion of Lecture III.]

FROM HENRY III. TO HENRY VIII.

The beginnings of Parliament and statutory opposition to papal claims.[4]

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[1] [See Bishop Stubbs' "Constitutional History," iii. 331, f.n. On the same page the bishop expresses his opinion that the legislation as regards Præmunire and provisors "was not a mere *brutum fulmen*, though evaded by the kings," and though the Statute of Provisors was occasionally suspended by Parliament. "In the hands of Henry VIII. it became a lever for the overthrow of papal supremacy. It furnishes in ecclesiastical history, the clue of the events that connect the Constitutions of Clarendon with the Reformation."]

[2] On the evils arising from the statutes of provisors, see Lingard, iii. 265, 266.

[3] [See Bishop Stubbs' "Constitutional History," iii. 301, 330.]

[4] See Ranke's "History of England," vol. i. ch. 4; and "Constitutional Essays," pp. 166, *sqq.*, and pp. 300, *sqq.*

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The reign of King John had seen the combination of Pope and king *v.* Church and barons. The result, two parties in the Church: (α) the *papal;* (β) *national.*[1]

Henry III. had sworn fealty to the Pope, and received the homage paid by John, but, *per contra,* he is compelled to confirm Magna Charta.

Soon a new cause appeared, widening the gap between the Pope and English people.

Henry's schemes and the Provisions of Oxford, A.D. 1258.[2]

Simon de Montfort and the barons, 1264–1265. *Representation,* and origin of Parliament. (Cf. Louis IX. and the first summoning of the three estates in France.[3])

Many grievances in Henry III.'s reign. Tallages and provisions.

Opposition of Bishop Grosseteste, etc.

EDWARD I., 1272–1307.

The first Parliament, 1295; end of feudalism;[4] limited monarchy.[5] (The first ecclesiastical Parliament was the Synod of Hertford, 673, under Archbishop Theodore.)

Edward I. the Henry VIII. of the thirteenth century.

LECTURE IV.

THE RELATIONS OF CHURCH AND STATE IN ENGLAND BEFORE THE REFORMATION.

I. BENEFIT OF CLERGY.

[The first part of this lecture in Mr. Moore's manuscript is cancelled, and marked in red ink "Rewrite." It has been necessary to supply this gap—which takes in all before the table of questions at issue between Church and State—by the following notes, taken by one of his pupils in 1888.]

FRICTION between Church and State. Feeling of State against Church, as well as of England against Rome, contributed to the Reformation.

Relations of Church and State before the Reformation.

(1) Controversy never appeared in England in the form in which it appeared on the Continent, and Church and State always work together, but no attempt to place one above the other in theory or act. Every now and then we find an ecclesiastic holding the Continental view (see Becket's expressions quoted below).

[1] [See Bishop Stubbs' "Select Charters," 31–33, and his "Constitutional History," i. 539–542; ii. 2, 3.]

[2] See Ranke, i. ch. 4, p. 59.

[3] [See Bishop Stubbs' "Constitutional History," ii. 161–166, 221–225.]

[4] "Constitutional Essays," p. 167.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 302.

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(2) From the time when England acquired national unity, Church and State grew side by side. Insular position made it natural to transact ecclesiastical and State business within the limits of the island. English people had their own "Vicar of Christ," the title which King Edgar claims,[1] meaning that he must see justice done. According to laws of Ina, Alfred, etc., king and council protected Church and State alike; while in civil matters the bishop sat in the shire court.

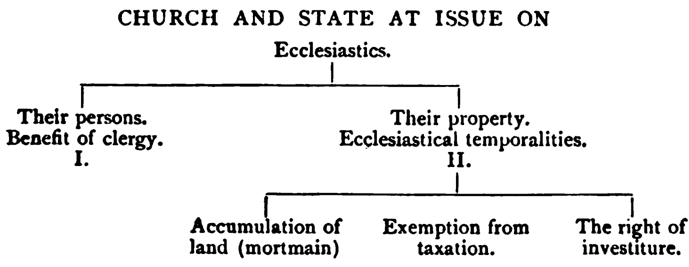
Friction begins with separation in idea and thought of Church and State, viz. with the separation of the ecclesiastical and civil courts by William I.[2] So—

(1) Church and State now thought of as separate societies, though composed of the same members.

(2) Church identified (illogically) with the clergy.

(3) Jealousy between the two parts of the body politic, because, through Norman ecclesiastics introduced by William, the Church gets a foreign character. Hence, when the friction became intense, these foreign ecclesiastics naturally appealed to the Continental power of Rome; so *national* jealousy directed against the Church.

The Church and State were at issue on two questions as to ecclesiastics, which will be best understood when thrown into the following tabular form :—



[1] See Dixon, i. 315.

[2] [See the text of this ordinance in Bishop Stubbs' "Select Charters," p. 85. For his comments, see his "Constitutional History," i. 283-285, and the "Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," i. 25, 26.]

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I. *Benefit of Clergy*.[1]—Here the question at issue was, Is an ecclesiastic to claim exemption from the law of the land if he is guilty of a crime? The Church contended that in such cases the ecclesiastical courts must pass sentence; but, in practice, this became a means of escaping punishment almost entirely. The deprivation or other ecclesiastical sentence passed upon a criminous clerk was light, compared with the punishment of the same crime in a layman. Here, again, it might be argued, as in the case of ecclesiastical temporalities, that an ecclesiastic, by committing a crime of which the civil courts took cognizance, *ipso facto* put himself outside that spiritual order to which he belonged. We shall find that, in fact, this was the compromise eventually accepted. The criminal, being unfrocked, fell under the lay arm. But this was really destroying benefit of clergy.

Benefit of clergy was, in like manner, appealed to to exempt ecclesiastics from civil taxation. But this really falls under the head of ecclesiastical temporalities.

Both these were practical matters. The theoretical question of the relation of the civil and ecclesiastical powers was not debated in England as it was upon the Continent. An echo of it is, indeed, heard in Becket's words: "Tell the king that the Lord of men and angels has established two powers—princes and priests; the first earthly, the second spiritual: the first to obey, the second to command,"[2] which recall the later utterance of Boniface VIII.: "Oportet gladium esse sub gladio, et temporalem auctoritatem spirituali subjici potestati." But it was only a Becket who could proclaim a view as un-English as it was unhistorical.

[1] [Bishop Stubbs' "Constitutional History," iii. 343, 344.]

[2] Hoveden, i. 261. [The reference is to the edition in the Master of the' Rolls series of "Chronicles and Memorials." The words occur in a letter addressed in 1167 by St. Thomas to Gilbert Foliot, the Bishop of London, and run thus: "Sciat ergo et intelligat, te intimante, dominus meus, quod Qui dominatur in regno hominum, sed et angelorum, duas sub Se potestates ordinavit, principes et sacerdotes; unam terrenam, alteram spiritualem; unam ministrantem, alteram præeminentem; unam cui potentiam concessit, alteram cui reverentiam exhiberi voluit." The letter is No. 124, and the words in vol. v. pp. 518, 519 of the "Materials for the History of Archbishop Thomas Becket," edited, in the Rolls' series, by the late Canon Robertson, who dates the letter 1166.]

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From the time when England became a nation and Christianity the national religion, down to the end of the Anglo-Saxon period,[1] Church and State grew up together harmoniously enough. Matters were transacted between the four seas. According to the laws of Ina, Alfred, Edmund, and Edgar, the king or the Great Council protected the estates of the clergy, punished sacrilege, determined the union and division of dioceses, and so on; while in civil matters, the bishop or his deputy sat in the county, the hundred, the borough, and the parish courts, thus giving the judicial decisions spiritual as well as temporal authority.

But William I. not only separated the civil and ecclesiastical courts, but paved the way for a rivalry between them by the importation of Norman ecclesiastics in the place of the dispossessed Saxons. From this time we get constant jealousy between Church and State,[2] the Pope being called in to act by his legate against a king who seized on Church property, or an archbishop who, like Anselm, refused to do homage to the king.

The first cause of quarrel was the already-mentioned *Benefit of Clergy.*[3] This seems to have been a privilege which grew up gradually, but was only felt as a grievance after the separation of the civil and ecclesiastical courts.[4] The clergy included not only those who served the altar, either as regulars or seculars, but all who had received the tonsure. All these could claim, or did claim, the right to be tried by canon

[1] On the Saxon spirit as showing itself through the Church and State controversy, see Burrows, "Church and State," pp. 14-17, and quote.

King Edgar actually calls himself the Vicar of Christ when speaking of his "elimination" of the seculars: "Vitiorum cuneos canonicorum a diversis nostri regiminis cœnobiis Christi Vicarius eliminavi" (Spelman, "Conc.," i. 438; ap. Dixon, i. 315).

[2] See Burrows, p. 19. "Henceforth we find it scarcely possible to think of Church and State, except as represented by the civil government on the one hand, by the clergy on the other."

[3] Cf. the old privilege of sanctuary: Dixon, i. 73, and the Act 21 Hen. VIII. c. 14.

[4] The Roman canon law (see Perry, p. 28) was introduced, according to Bishop Stubbs, in the reign of Stephen [see his "Constitutional History," i. 284; ii. 171; his "Lectures on Medieval History," p. 301; and his statements in the "Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," i. 24, 25].

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law by the ordinary, instead of by the justice in the civil court. Probably under the term "clerk" were included not only ecclesiastics, but all who could read and write.[1] On pleading benefit of clergy, the criminal was delivered to the ordinary. If he desired to clear himself, he did so by choosing certain "compurgators" to prove his innocence. If the canonical purgation was unsatisfactory he suffered the bishop's doom, or sentence of the ordinary. In spite of the abuse[2] to which this privilege was liable, especially when, after the invention of printing, clerks became numerous, two facts have to be recorded in its favour:—

1. It was thoroughly English, had received the recognition of all the best kings from Alfred to the Edwards, and was historically the origin of *trial by jury*.

2. It was a counterpoise to the barbarous *trial by ordeal*,[3] and in later days served as a loophole of escape from the bloody rigour of the English criminal code. If the ordinaries erred on the side of laxity, Henry VIII.'s Act, limiting benefit of clergy, was passed at a time when the justices were killing at the rate of two thousand a year.

The dispute first came into prominence in the time of Becket (1163). A gross case of crime had been removed from the civil tribunal under plea of benefit of clergy. The king demanded the surrender of the criminal, which Becket refused. A council of bishops was summoned, but they maintained that "no one ought to be punished twice for the same offence,"[4] and ecclesiastical censures were in themselves a heavy punishment. It was allowed, however, that a degraded cleric would, for an offence committed after his degradation, be amenable to the common law. The Constitutions of Clarendon[5] were passed in the following year, 1164, and it

[1] Dixon, i. 124. For the consequence of this see William of Malmesbury, a monk of Becket's time, p. 311 (ap. Southey, p. 88); Short, sects. 57 and 102.

[2] Probably much exaggerated. See Dixon, i. 73.

[3] Ordeal abolished 1215 by the Fourth Council of the Lateran. [See generally on compurgation and the history of the jury of presentment of criminals, Bishop Stubbs, "Constitutional History," i. 617–619.]

[4] Southey, p. 92; Short, sect. 57.

[5] "The first great step towards making them (the clergy) real subjects of the realm" (Burrows, p. 24).

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was asserted in the preamble that they were but a recognition of existing customs (*recordatio vel recognitio cujusdam partis consuetudinum et libertatum et dignitatum antecessorum suorum*). Magna Charta, while apparently endorsing the Constitutions of Clarendon, left "the rights and liberties of the Church of England" undefined.[1] Possibly this was intentional on Stephen Langton's part, for it covered as much or as little as Becket's reservation, "saving the privileges of his order." At all events, benefit of clergy still existed, and the friction between ordinaries and justices continued undiminished, the former complaining that their jurisdiction was disregarded and their privileges ignored, while the justices complained that convict clerks were set at liberty without due purgation, in consideration of a money payment.[2] In the reign of Edward III., Archbishop Islip issued a mandate for the better discharge of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and Archbishop Arundel in the reign of Henry IV., on the occasion of the clergy appealing to the king against justices, had been required to make a constitution for this purpose.[3] The constitution which had been promised in Henry IV.'s reign was never made, and was the cause alleged for Parliamentary intervention in the Reformation period. Parliament had made sundry attempts to enforce ecclesiastical discipline. Thus, under Henry VI., instead of the bishop or ordinary claiming an accused clerk, he was compelled to plead his privilege either at arraignment or conviction, and by 4 Hen. VII. c. 10, clerks convicted of felony were burnt in the hand. A later Act in the same reign, 12 Hen. VII. c. 7, refused benefit of clergy to all in minor orders who attempted to murder the king, and by a temporary Act of Henry VIII.—4 Hen. VIII. c. 7 (January 26, 1513)—this was extended to

[1] Rights and liberties of the Church afterwards explained. Election of bishops, archbishops, etc., free from Pope and king, 9 Hen. IV.; on the king's *congé d'élire*, 25 Edw. III., confirmed by 2 Hen. VI., see Burrows, p. 26.

[2] Dixon, vol. i. p. 125. [25 Edw. III. c. 4 is the first limitation of this privilege so far as regards clerks convict of treason or felony touching other persons than the king (Perry, p. 28).]

[3] Wilkins, iii. 13 and 335, *q.v.*

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all murderers, robbers, etc. But it was not till 23 Hen. VIII. c. 1 that the term clergy was definitely limited to those who were in Holy Orders. Now no one under a sub-deacon could claim exemption. No canonical purgation was to be accepted, unless two sureties of good estate, by recognizance before two justices of the peace, were found for his good clearing. Failing this, the convict was to suffer perpetual confinement in the prison of his ordinary. By 25 Hen. VIII. c. 11, clerks convict breaking prison, if under the rank of sub-deacon, were guilty of felony, with loss of life and goods without benefit of clergy, while clerks in Holy Orders were sent back to their ordinaries for perpetual imprisonment without purgation. The ordinary might in any case degrade a convict clerk, and send him back to the justices to be condemned to death.[1]

Privilege of clergy finally abolished, 7 and 8 Geo. IV. c. 28, s. 6.

Case of Richard Hunne,[2] Abbot of Winchcomb, who preaches against 4 Hen. VIII. Opposed by Dr. Standish. Convocation and Parliament opposed. Evil May-day, 1516.[3]

LECTURE V.

THE RELATIONS OF CHURCH AND STATE IN ENGLAND BEFORE THE REFORMATION — ECCLESIASTICAL TEMPORALITIES.

BUT the main cause of contention between Church and State in England, as elsewhere, was the *possession of temporalities by ecclesiastics*, [as to which three questions arose]. I. How far was property to be allowed to accumulate in the hand of ecclesiastics, to the detriment of the country, or the king, or the lord of the fee? II. Were ecclesiastical properties to be exempted from taxation? III. Was the king to have no

[1] See Dixon, i. 126, 127, and reff.; Perry, p. 21 and f.n., also pp. 27, 28 J. H. Blunt, i. 407-410; Hallam, "Constitutional History," i. 56.

[2] Perry, p. 21.

[3] See *ibid.*, pp. 21-25.

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rights of lordship or patronage? The Statute of Mortmain and the innumerable legal fictions resulting from it were the attempted answer to the first question, while the quarrel between Philip le Bel and Boniface VIII., and the earlier quarrel about investitures and the exemption of ecclesiastics from doing homage to their sovereign, show how openly Church and State were at issue on the later questions.

I. At the time of the Norman Conquest it is said that the whole country was divided into 60,215 fiefs,[1] the half of which were *civil*, the other half *ecclesiastical and royal.* Of the entire number of fiefs, fourteen hundred were granted to crown vassals, the great barons, secular and ecclesiastical. All these were bound to support the king as their feudal lord, by rendering military service in person, except in the case of bishops and abbots, who were required only to send their dependents. Each great baron was a feudal lord over his vassals, who took an oath of allegiance, both to him as their immediate superior, and to the king as the supreme feudal lord. Under this system, not only was military service due to the feudal lord, but there were at every vacancy "incidents," *e.g.* wardship, escheats, relief, etc., due to the Crown or the lord. Side by side, however, with this feudal tenure, there was a survival of Anglo-Saxon days, *the tenure of frankalmoign.* Lands might be given to a religious house or monastery "in pure and perpetual almesse." Lands so given were freed from military service, and also from incidents, escheats, etc.[2] The tenant secured a much easier holding, and thus, just as benefit of clergy modified the rigour of the criminal ccde, so the tenure of frankalmoign mitigated the evil of feudalism. Such a transfer was called an "alienation in mortmain." It was as great a gain to the tenant as to the monastery, for the abbots and priors were the best of landlords; but it was a serious loss to the State and to the king, and rapidly tended to that disproportionate division of landed

[1] [Bishop Stubbs, in his "Constitutional History," i. 264, considers this statement of Ordericus Vitalis as "one of the many numerical exaggerations of the early historians." See, too, Dixon, i. 250, note.]

[2] Dixon, i. 131; Blackstone, book i. part i. ch. 2.

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property between Church and State, which at the time of the Reformation was a real evil, especially as so much Church property was farmed by the Bishop of Rome and his underlings.

It was to recover the feudal rights of the lords and the State that the various Mortmain Acts[1] were passed. [The reissue] of *Magna Charta* in 1217 (clause 43) forbade all donation of lands to religious *houses*, and made such donations the property of the lord. This was confirmed by the famous Statute of *Mortmain* of 7 Edw. I. st. 2, c. 13, "de Religiosis," which enacted the forfeiture of all lands "aliened to any religious *person*," whether by gift, sale, or lease. This was eluded by a suit of recovery being brought by the persons to which the donation was to be made, which suit went (by collusion) by default, a practice which was again met by an Act (13 Edw. I. c. 32) requiring a previous trial by jury, as to the *primâ-facie* right of the claimant. To evade these Acts, a new tenure was invented. Feudal holders now conveyed their estates to nominal feoffees, to hold to the use of themselves and their heirs. The religious houses and spiritual persons profited, as did others, by this tenure, till a new Mortmain Act (15 Ric. II. c. 5)[2] made it mortmain to be seised of lands to the use of religious or spiritual persons, as well as of lay corporations.[3] It was an addition to the number of these Mortmain statutes, as we shall see, by which Henry VIII. began under a show of legality his attack on Church property, and indirectly on the property of every corporation in the realm (23 Hen. VIII. c. 10, and 27 Hen. VIII. c. 10), "the well-tuned prelude of spoliation."[4]

Wealth of the Monasteries.—This disproportionate increase in the amount of property held by the Church was made more evident by an abuse which had grown up in the distribution of money within the Church itself. The clergy, from a very early date, were supported by tithes, which were made compulsory by Charlemagne in 779. In England they

[1] See Dixon, i. 130–136. See, too, Digby, ch. iv. sect. 2, and ch. vi.

[2] Blackstone, book ii. cc. 18 and 20.

[3] Dixon, i. 134.

[4] *Ibid.*, i. 136.

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were recommended by synod in 787, and commanded by later legislation.[1] These tithes were originally the property of the parish priest, but since the days of St. Dunstan his rights had been openly or secretly attacked by the monasteries.[2] Not content with ousting the seculars from the cathedrals, they began to get possession of their benefices. This was done either by voluntary cession on the part of the lord of the manor, or by purchase. The church, with its tithes, now became the property of the abbey, the church being served by a secular priest as "vicarius," while the abbey was rector. In this case the "greater tithes" were retained by the monastery, while the lesser tithes were paid to the vicar. Sometimes only a stipendiary curate had charge of the parish services, or they were neglected altogether. Livings in which the greater tithes went to a corporation were called "appropriate;" and after the Reformation, when the rectorship for the first time passed into lay hands, "impropriate."[3] When an outcry against this injustice on the part of the monasteries was raised by the laity, they were cleverly turned into accomplices by the monasteries, the lesser tithes, the vicar's pay, being less strictly exacted, while the greater tithes were paid as usual. In Edward I.'s reign one-third of the English benefices were thus "appropriate," while at the time of the Reformation the proportion was doubled. The natural result was that the secular clergy rapidly deteriorated, while the monks increased in luxury and indolence as they gained in wealth. Thus the working clergy of the Church of England were robbed by the monks, who in their turn were robbed by Henry VIII. When the Friars came, they began by a vehement attack on the luxury and laziness of their brethren of the Benedictine rule, and the ignorance

[1] [As to the early history of tithe, see Bishop Stubbs' "Constitutional History," i. 228, 229, 237, and references; also Lord Selborne's "Defence," ch. 7 and 8, and "Ancient Facts and Fictions," *passim.*]

[2] The property of the monasteries was not ecclesiastical, but secular property, the monasteries being lay corporations (Perry, p. 13). This not true of the tithes which they absorbed.

[3] See J. J. Blunt, p. 62, and J. H. Blunt, i. 25; Hardwick's "Reformation," p. 338.

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of the impoverished seculars, but they themselves soon amassed large sums[1] and congregated in smaller monasteries;[2] but as they possessed no landed property, they afforded a less tempting object to the king's rapacity.

LECTURE VI.

THE RELATIONS OF CHURCH AND STATE IN ENGLAND BEFORE THE REFORMATION—EXEMPTION OF ECCLESIASTICS FROM TAXATION—RIGHT OF INVESTITURE—ECCLESIASTICAL COURTS.

II. *Exemption from taxation*[3] was a cause of complaint against the clergy till the reign of Edward I. That tithes, themselves a rent charge, should not be taxed seemed natural enough; but when these tithes accumulated in the hands of those who ignored or badly performed the work for which the tithes were paid, it seemed only right that the wealthy monasteries should contribute their quota to the national expenses. While, therefore, the various Mortmain statutes were directed against the accumulation of wealth, on numerous occasions the clergy were compelled to take their share of the national burdens. No doubt this pressed hardly on the poverty-stricken seculars, but it was the regulars who were to blame for their poverty. As far back as the Constitutions of Clarendon (1164), clause 11, the property of the bishops was subjected to baronial duties, but in the reign of Edward I. we get in England an echo of the controversy which raged between the Pope and Philip le Bel. In 1295 the king demanded a very large part of the revenues of the Church, and Archbishop Winchelsey appealed (1296) against him to Boniface VIII.'s bull of exemption, "Clericis laicos." The king, however, had the right of might and reduced the Churchmen to submit.[4]

[1] See J. J. Blunt, p. 42.
[2] See Short, sect. 115.
[3] [See Bishop Stubbs' "Constitutional History," ii. 171, 534; iii. 337, 338.]
[4] Short, p. 37, sects. 66 and 69; [Bishop Stubbs' "Constitutional History," ii. 129–134].

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From this time (1297) the clergy were placed, as far as regards taxation [though through the agency of Convocation until 1664 [1]], on a level with all other subjects of the realm. The old privilege was no longer tenable; and though the act of Edward I. was harsh and tyrannical, it is worth remembering that Convocation grew out of the synods summoned for the purpose of regular taxation instead of the old irregular self-taxation, which had been abused by Pope and king.[2]

III. Another matter which properly falls under the head of ecclesiastical temporalities is the question as to the *right of investiture.*[3] The position of an ecclesiastic, from the primate to the lowest beneficed priest, was of a double character—spiritual and temporal. In his spiritual capacity he owed allegiance to none but God and his ecclesiastical superiors; but as the holder of temporalities, he owed allegiance to the Emperor, or king, or government, as did every other subject. In accordance with these old feudal forms, it was usual to express this fact by the process of investiture. An investiture in law was a visible or tangible proof that a right was recognized; *e.g.* a twig would be given as a sign of a genuine transfer of landed property. Similarly it was customary for the temporal sovereign to "invest" an ecclesiastic, duly elected and ordained or consecrated, with the temporalities attached to his position. The ring and staff were given to the bishop, the ring and crozier to the archbishop, by the reigning sovereign in recognition of his rights in the temporality. On the Continent ecclesiastical appointments were confirmed, and ecclesiastics invested with their temporalities by the Emperor or king. The *election* was with the clergy, the *recognition* and *confirmation* with the king. But in the days of Charlemagne the State had overstepped its prerogative, and assumed the right of appointing bishops, and even Popes, and the result was the contest of Investitures, which

[1] [See Bishop Stubbs' "Constitutional History," iii. 339; and Hallam's "Constitutional History," iii. 243.]

[2] See Burrows, p. 29; [and Bishop Stubbs' "Constitutional History," ii. 194–200; "Select Charters," pp. 452–456, 462, 466.]

[3] [See Bishop Stubbs' "Constitutional History," iii. 295–319.]

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was finally compromised (1122) by the Emperor resigning the right to invest (lest this should be misinterpreted to mean a royal gift of spiritual power), but claiming the homage of ecclesiastics. In England, during the Anglo-Saxon period, while Church and State were one, the difficulty was not felt. The bishops in the Witenagemot managed ecclesiastical affairs as a matter of course. But after the separation of the civil and ecclesiastical courts by William I., we find royal aggressions on Church liberties met by appeal to a power equally aggressive, viz. the Papacy. If the Church was not strong enough to fight a tyrannical king, it fell back on Rome, and the result was that, when a compromise similar to that which was effected on the Continent (Concordat of Worms, 1122) was accepted in England (1107), the king received his homage for ecclesiastical temporalities,[1] but the investiture passed from the National Church to a new and foreign tyrant, the Pope. The freedom of the Church of England, claimed but not defined by Magna Charta, certainly included freedom of election to bishoprics and archbishoprics.[2] The charter of King John[3] proves this, though the freedom claimed by Magna Charta was limited by an informal "letter missive" (containing a nomination), which the tyrannical legislation of Henry VIII. incorporated in his statute.[4] Still in theory the Church of England was free both from Pope and king in the election of its bishops, though the king justly claimed their homage as possessed of temporalities. Clearly the right of investiture was either with the king, as in the days before Hildebrand, or with the

[1] [See Bishop Stubbs' "Constitutional History," i. 316, 317; and the following extract, describing the agreement made between Henry I. and Anselm, quoted in his "Select Charters," p. 97:—"Annuit rex et statuit, ut ab eo tempore in reliquum, nunquam per dationem baculi pastoralis vel annuli quisquam de episcopatu aut abbatia per regem vel quamlibet laicam manum in Anglia investiretur; concedente quoque Anselmo ut nullus in prælationem electus, pro hominio quod regi faceret, consecratione suscepti honoris privaretur."]

[2] See Dixon's note on the practice in the reigns of Canute and Edward the Confessor, vol. i. p. 183.

[3] [November 21, 1214. See Bishop Stubbs' "Select Charters," p. 289; and "Constitutional History," i. 529.]

[4] 25 Hen. VIII. c. 20. See Dixon, i. 182, and f.n.; Burrows, p. 26.

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metropolitan, as supreme spiritual head in England. If in this matter the Church before the Reformation vindicated this right at the cost of her national independence, when that independence was asserted by Henry VIII. this right was tyrannically wrested from her by the Defender of the Faith. Two only of the post-Reformation sovereigns have attempted to limit this abuse, which certainly lays the Church of England open to the charge of Erastianism. James I. ordained in Scotland that, when a bishop died, the archbishop should convene his fellow-bishops, who should name to the king three persons, from whom he should choose one for the vacant see; and William III. appointed a commission of bishops to recommend fit persons for bishoprics and deaneries, as well as for Regius Professorships.[1] In later days it is obvious that the abuse is increased a thousandfold when the king has delegated his power to his premier, who may, in the present state of things, be a Jew, Turk, infidel, or heretic. But the revolution consisted in making the "letter missive" a part of the statute, so rendering the *congé d'élire* a fiction and violating the constitutional liberties of the Church.[2]

One other point in the relations of Church and State has to be noticed, not as a matter occupying, like the persons and property of ecclesiastics, debateable ground, but because in Reformation times it added greatly to the ill feeling of the laity towards the clergy. This was the state of the *ecclesiastical courts*, and *clerical extortions* generally. The common charge brought against the clergy was that they got too much and did too little;[3] especially that the fees in the probate courts and mortuaries were excessive. "To prove a single will in which I was executor," said Sir H. Guildford, speaking in the Lower House of Parliament, "I was compelled to pay a thousand marks to the Lord Cardinal and the Archbishop of Canterbury;"[4] while the clergy, it was said, would take a dead man's only cow as a mortuary fee, and leave his children in

[1] Burrows, p. 53 [but see Grub, ii. p. 309].
[2] See Dixon's note on capitular and royal elections, i. 183.
[3] Dixon, i. 11.
[4] *Ibid.*

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beggary rather than forego their due. The endless questions of precedence between bishop and legate, each of whom asserted an exclusive right of probate; the regulations regarding marriage and legitimacy, and the frequent dispensations from Rome, the result of appeals which in spite of the Præmunire Acts were still made; the venality of the supreme papal courts, in which, if the decision could not be bought, an early hearing had to be paid for with a great price—all tended to prejudice the State against the Church, and to make laymen identify it more and more with the Roman system and its abuses. The course of Henry's own divorce, dragging on through seven years, is a conspicuous instance of the "law's delay."[1] The day had gone by when the ecclesiastical courts were the refuge for the poor. The suit of a poor man might be delayed for years, though it is doubtful whether the ecclesiastical courts were not at least as pure and as expeditious as the temporal. The matter had been vigorously taken in hand by Archbishop Warham, and great reforms had been effected (1518); he had even inhibited judges expressly delegated by the Roman pontiff.[2] The rivalry, however, between Warham (*legatus natus*) and Wolsey (*legatus à latere*) brought back and increased the old abuses. The very grievance to which Sir H. Guildford alluded arose out of the contending claims of the primate and the cardinal-legate, the latter seeking to simplify the old procedure by superseding rather than reforming it. Thus at the time of the Reformation these ecclesiastical courts were in great need of reformation, and the admitted abuses served as a useful pretext for State interference.[3] This State interference in the matter of the ecclesiastical courts was the beginning of Henry's ecclesiastical legislation.

Summing up, then, we find that, altogether independently of the anti-papal feeling of the nation, there were certain

[1] J. J. Blunt, p. 58. [2] Dixon, i. 18.
[3] See Dixon, i. 11-18; Perry, pp. 25, 26; Hook's "Life of Warham," pp. 233-260; Act about Probates, 21 Hen. VIII. c. 5.

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matters affecting the relations of Church and State which absolutely needed readjusting.

1. The old privilege of benefit of clergy, which, once a real benefit to the people, had become an abuse.
2. The disproportionate distribution of wealth between Church and State, which the various Mortmain statutes had in vain attempted to correct.
3. The wealth amassed by the regulars to the detriment of the seculars.
4. The uncertain relation in which ecclesiastics stood to the king, since they had gradually come to regard a foreigner as their spiritual superior; and
5. The abuses which had become numerous in the ecclesiastical courts and clerical extortions generally, which were made the pretext for legislation.

It was under the plausible pretext of reforming these abuses that we shall find King Henry covering his spoliation of the Church and his infringement of her liberties. We may say of him, as has been said of Hildebrand, that "in preparing the way for an intolerable tyranny and for the worst of all abuses, he began by reforming abuses and vindicating legal rights."[1] His was "a revolution by solemn procedure."[2]

1 was met by 23 Hen. VIII. c. 1; 2 and 3, by the Uses and Act of Feoffments, 23 Hen. VIII. c. 10, by 21 Hen. VIII. c. 13, against Pluralities, and by the Suppression of Monasteries; 4, by the Royal Supremacy Act, 26 Hen. VIII. c. 1; 5, by the Probate and Mortuaries Acts, 21 Hen. VIII. cc. 5 and 6.

[1] Southey, p. 77. [2] Dixon, i. 6.

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LECTURE VII.

STATE OF ENGLAND, 1509–1529—WOLSEY'S GREATNESS AND FALL.

[This lecture in the original manuscript is made up of some brief headings jotted down on half a sheet of note-paper, and the revised proofs of a review (by Mr. Moore) of Brewer's "The Reign of Henry VIII.," which appeared in No. 38 of the *Church Quarterly Review* (January, 1885). Both are reprinted here intact. Consult also Canon Creighton's sketch of Wolsey's career in his volume on the cardinal in the "English Statesmen Series."]

State of England, 1509.

Internal.

End of feudalism. The new nobility servants of the king.

The old barons the check to royal tyranny.

Relations with the Continent.

England nowhere. League of Cambray. War of 1512–13. Tournay taken.

The young king and Wolsey.

Francis I, king, 1515.

Charles, king, 1516; Emperor, 1519.

The Papacy and the Reformation.

Luther's Theses, 1517.

Influence of foreign Protestantism.

The king's answer, "*Assertio septem sacramentorum.*"

Wolsey's policy—foreign, domestic, ecclesiastical.

The divorce.

Wolsey under Præmunire.

ART. V.—BREWER'S REIGN OF HENRY VIII.

The Reign of Henry VIII., from his Accession to the Death of Wolsey. Reviewed and Illustrated from Original Documents. By the late J. S. BREWER, M.A. Edited by JAMES GAIRDNER, of the Public Record Office. In two volumes, with portrait. (London, 1884.)

"The history of England," it has been said, "has yet to be

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written," but there are some periods of that history which have to be *unwritten* and *rewritten* if we are ever to arrive at the truth. Probably no century has occupied so-called historians more, and with less permanent results, than the century of the Reformation. Ignorance and traditional interpretations of traditional facts have combined with violent prejudice and uncritical partisanship to obscure the facts, or to give a false colouring to facts which cannot be denied. To write, therefore, the much-needed history of the Reformation, far more of critical and destructive power must be brought to bear than has hitherto been thought necessary. Apart from the *à priori* theorizings of certain living writers, whose noble indifference to the facts almost justifies Canon Kingsley's words that history is so overlaid with lies, that we can make nothing of it, there is an enormous amount of early evidence which the truth-loving historian must discredit and discard, though it comes to us with the *imprimatur* of Polydore Vergil, Hall, Foxe, Burnet, and Strype. And in this destructive work, it is not enough to trace the filiation of different writers to their common parentage, and to show that the authority on which they depend was biassed and untrustworthy. This in itself is hard enough, especially when the malignity of the authorities commonly accepted gives to their statements an appearance of independence, if not of truthfulness. But we must be able to appeal to some trustworthy source of information, something which is above the petty animosity of personal spite. We must, in short, have a final court of appeal, by which we may test the utterances of ancient animus and modern theorizing.

Such a court of appeal, for the first half of the reign of Henry VIII., Mr. Brewer has given us. And it is certainly not too much to say, that, in the light of this work, the Reformation and the great actors in it assume a new character. The two volumes which Mr. Gairdner has now given to the world are a reprint of the invaluable prefaces which Mr. Brewer prefixed to the successive volumes of the State Papers.[1] Well known and valued, at their true worth, by

[1] There is a curious survival of the older arrangement in vol. i. p. 261, which

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students, these huge quartos were practically out of the reach of ordinary persons; nor would any casual visitor to a library have dreamed that under the unattractive title of "Letters and Papers, Foreign and Domestic," there lay concealed a continuous history of Wolsey's administration, in a form which was not only readable, but fascinating in the highest degree.

Little idea of Mr. Brewer's work can, however, be gained merely by the reading of these volumes, containing though they do more than a thousand closely printed pages. For they are the mature result of years of unwearying effort. It may, however, help the general reader to gain some notion of what Mr. Brewer has done, to know that, in the four volumes of State Papers which he lived to publish, we have more than *twenty thousand letters*, dealing with the most intricate political complications of an age, in which political intrigue had been reduced to a science, some of them being written in cipher to which there was no key, many undated or misdated, numbers mutilated by damp or mildew and the ravages of rats and mice. In an interesting article contributed to the *Quarterly Review* for April, 1871, Mr. Brewer gives a sketch of the history of these documents, till they were safely lodged in the new Record Office. As early as the reign of Charles II., Prynne, who had been appointed Keeper of his Majesty's Records, tells how he tried to rescue the documents "which had for many years lain bound together in a confused chaos, under corroding, putrefying cobwebs, dust, and filth, in the darkest corner of Cæsar's Chapel in the White Tower." He employed, he says, "many soldiers and women to remove and cleanse them from their filthiness, who, soon growing weary of this tedious work, left them almost as foul as they found them." In "raking up this dunghill" Prynne found "many rare, ancient, precious pearls and golden records;" yet when, less than a century afterwards, reference had to be made to certain documents of the age of Charles I., nothing at all was known of them, till a venerable clerk was dis-

has apparently escaped the editor's notice. The words "this volume" (*i.e.* vol. ii. of the old arrangement) refer only to chaps. iii.–ix. in vol. i. of this edition.

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covered, who had a dim recollection that he had heard, in his youth, of the existence of some old books in the room near the gateway of Whitehall, and suggested a search, which, after many adventures with decayed staircases, locksmiths, flocks of pigeons, and accumulations of filth, proved eventually to be successful.[1] Three-quarters of a century later, in 1836, a committee of the House of Commons was appointed to investigate the present state of the records of the United Kingdom, and produced a Blue Book of 946 pages, in which it is stated in evidence that some of the public muniments were "in a state of inseparable adhesion to the stone walls; there were numerous fragments which had only just escaped entire consumption by vermin, and many were in the last stage of putrefaction. Decay and damp had rendered a large quantity so fragile as hardly to admit of being touched; others, particularly those in the form of rolls, were so coagulated together that they could not be uncoiled. Six or seven perfect skeletons of rats were found embedded, and bones of these vermin were generally distributed throughout the mass."[2]

Even when the Record Office was built and the documents from their various repositories were transferred to it, this huge mass of invaluable material was almost useless from the want of proper catalogues and indexes. It is to the late Lord Romilly that we owe the "Calendars of State Papers," of which more than one hundred volumes have already appeared. In 1855 he obtained from the Lords of the Treasury leave to employ qualified persons in the work, and it is from this time that Mr. Brewer's labours begin. The entire correspondence of the reign of Henry VIII. was put into his charge, with the following result. In 1862 his first volume appeared, with the correspondence of the years 1509–14 and a preface of 122 pages. The second volume, in two parts, each of which is itself a volume, appeared in 1864, and carried on the history to the year 1518. Three years later the third volume, again in two parts, appeared, and the fourth volume, in three parts

[1] Edwardes, quoted by Dr. Brewer.
[2] "Report," p. 427, quoted by Brewer.

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and with a separate introduction of nearly seven hundred pages, completed the history to the death of Wolsey.

Few can appreciate, except those who, like Mr. Gairdner, have taken part in the work, the amount of labour implied in this. The aggregation of materials in one office was but the first step in the process. A far more difficult task remained. Many documents had been abstracted by Sir Robert Cotton for his library in the British Museum ; others had been carried to the Chapter House at Westminster, to the Rolls House and the State Paper Office ; and when from these last places the documents were brought together, there seemed no possibility of restoring the broken series to its original order. There was, of course, no catalogue of the whole. The catalogues of detached parts, made at different places by different men, were constructed on different principles. Not only parts of the same correspondence, but even fragments of the same letter, had found their way to different offices, and were catalogued (if catalogued at all) according to the arrangement which was adopted in the place where they were. And here Mr. Brewer must speak for himself as to the method which he has so successfully employed.

"A return to the primitive arrangement of the papers, however desirable, was altogether impossible, for no memoranda had been kept of these changes (of place, arrangement, etc.). To have catalogued the papers as they stood was scarcely more possible. Nothing remained except to bring the different series together and patiently proceed *de novo* to arrange the whole in uniform chronological order. The task was extremely difficult and fatiguing. The labour was increased by the dispersion of the papers, the variety of experiments to which they had been subjected at different intervals, and the total obliteration of all traces of their original sequence. The letters are seldom dated ; their dates had to be determined by internal evidence. . . . To the difficulty arising from a general absence of dates in papers of this early period must be added the uncertainty in the different modes of calculation adopted by different nations. Some states followed the Roman, some the old style. Some

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commenced the year on Christmas Day, some at the variable feast of Easter. In some instances the same writer followed no rule, but wavered between two styles, like the Emperor Maximilian; some adopted the style of the place where they chanced to be staying, or of the correspondent to whom their letters were addressed. This uncertainty in the chronology of the times involved the necessity of numerous researches among the Privy Seals, patent rolls, and other muniments at the Record Office. It was indispensable to arrive at some certain data for determining the shifting dates of uncertain papers. At last, by one method or another, and finally by comparing the entire series of despatches of this or that ambassador, wherever such a comparison could be made, the date of each separate document was determined with tolerable exactness. Step by step the whole series emerged from confusion."[1]

It is impossible fairly to assess the value of Mr. Brewer's results, without some knowledge of the laborious methods by which he arrived at them. It was only after all the documents had been chronologically arranged, their date and authorship determined, and the letters printed, entire or in summary, that Mr. Brewer sat down to write his prefaces. Even then he undervalued the work he was about to do. "It is not my business," he says, "to write history, but to show the bearings of these new materials upon history."[2] And yet no one who reads these volumes—certainly no one who attempts to utilize for himself the materials which Dr. Brewer has provided—will hesitate to allow that ordinary criticism is here impossible. If ever there was a case in which ἀναπόδεικτοι φάσεις are to be received with reverence, it is when, as here, they are the utterance of one, whose great experience in such matters has become an instinct, and whose intuitive judgments on doubtful questions of sixteenth-century politics are the expression of that fine tact which is the product of laborious and conscientious work.

It was not likely that the new materials, which Mr. Brewer's

[1] Brewer's preface to vol. i. State Papers, pp. ix., x.

[2] Quoted in Gairdner's preface, p. i.

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work placed at the disposal of students, should lie long unused, or that, when used, they should be used only by those who took the same view of the Reformation as he did. Roman as well as Anglican writers appeal to the State Papers, as confirming their own view. Canon Dixon's elaborate volumes are balanced by the brilliant, if somewhat one-sided, studies of Mr. Hubert Burke. Even Dr. Nicholas Sanders and his continuator, Mr. Rishton, find themselves re-edited with an elaborate preface and foot notes which bristle with references to the "Calendars of the State Papers." Documents "indifferently minister justice," and it is no wonder that representatives of opposing views take them, like the Articles, "to be for them." There is, however, one view of the Reformation which, in the face of Dr. Brewer's researches, seems to have become no longer tenable, at least for members of the English Church,—the view, namely, that the Reformation represents a kind of spiritual *archibiosis*, when, from the dead matter of Roman Catholicism, was evolved the pure spiritual life of the Protestant faith. Some writers from this point of view have indeed doubted the *archibiosis*, and prefer to believe that the new life which manifested itself in England, was not indeed brought by some wandering aerolite from another world, but introduced into the country with the contraband goods of German Protestantism. To say that such a theory is inconsistent with Dr. Brewer's view is to speak of matter of fact, as if it were matter of opinion ; for it is impossible to read the documents of the reign of Henry VIII., without being struck by the unique character of the English Reformation. No one, with competent knowledge of the pre-Reformation Church, could help being amused at the view, which, before now, has found defenders, that the Church of England dates its existence from the Divorce. The view is fortunately as unhistorical, as to Churchmen it is offensive, and the publication of the State Papers will have done much to render it untenable. It is, indeed, a remarkable fact that the Hibbert lecturer of 1883, speaking of the English Reformation, declares it to be "both in its method and in its result a thing by itself, taking its place in no historical suc-

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cession and altogether refusing to be classified."[1] And when he comes to ask why this is so, and what it is which differentiates the English Reformation, his answer is that it is "*the continuity of the Anglican Church.*"[2]

"There is no point," he says, "at which it can be said, Here the old Church ends; here the new begins. . . . It is an obvious historical fact that Parker was the successor of Augustine, just as clearly as Lanfranc and Becket. Warham, Cranmer, Pole, Parker—there is no break in the line, though the first and third are claimed as Catholic, the second and fourth as Protestant. . . . The Church may be Protestant now, as it undoubtedly was Catholic once, but it is impossible to fix the point at which the transition was legally and publicly made."

But it is essential to the ultra-Protestant as to the Roman view, that there should be such a break in the spiritual history of England, whether it date from the Divorce, or the assertion of the Royal Supremacy, or the influx of Puritan opinions in the reigns of Edward and Elizabeth. It is therefore not surprising that those Churchmen who take the Puritan view of the Reformation, have felt little called upon to make use of Dr. Brewer's materials. They go on repeating the misstatements of Hall and Foxe and Burnet and Strype; they still find the forerunners of the Reformers in the heretics of earlier ages, and their most logical successors in the Protestant sects of to-day. Such a view, however appropriate and natural to a Nonconformist, is strangely inconvenient for those who, in any sense, profess and call themselves Churchmen.

The break in the history of England, which some people put down to the Reformation, dates from the death of Henry VII. That there was such a break it is impossible to deny, and the documents bear unmistakable witness to it. It was only natural that the change should be reflected in the religious life of the nation, and perhaps it is not strange that those who interpret English Church history in the light of Continental Protestantism should mistake the effect for the cause. "The Middle Ages," says Dr. Brewer, "came to a

[1] Beard's "Hibbert Lectures," p. 300. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 311.

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close in England with the death of Henry VII." Feudalism was dying. The old nobility had been destroyed in the civil wars. A few, like the Duke of Norfolk, survived as connecting links between Tudor and Plantagenet England. But the future of the country was in the hands of a new nobility, just rising into prominence, men who were servants of the Crown, raised from a lower level in return for personal services rendered to the king. Under such conditions it is obvious a new era was at hand. The system of checks, for which the English Constitution is remarkable, was for the moment out of gear. The new nobility, instead of seeking to limit and restrain the absolute authority of the Crown, as their predecessors had done, saw in its extension an increase of their own greatness; and Parliament, so far from being the expression of the will of the people, existed only for registering the wishes of the sovereign ; the fancied freedom and independence of the Reformation Parliament being a fiction of historians. Everything thus tended to throw all the power into the hands of the king. He was the one refuge from the evils of civil war and a disputed succession. If we except the still smouldering elements of disaffection in the north, the king had become "the poise and centre of the nation." His was the strong hand which alone was able to hold, in equilibrium, the opposing factions of the day. The Royal Supremacy was no longer a tradition or a theory; it was a fact.

But this was not all. The internal troubles of England had caused her to drop out of Continental politics. She ranked only as a third or fourth-rate power. Henry VII. had indolently acquiesced, and the League of Cambray recognized the virtual exclusion of England from the great Powers of Europe. She was only "a wealthy parvenu in the great family of nations."[1] But, with a new king, men's eyes and thoughts began to turn to foreign affairs, and Henry VIII. was admirably fitted to be the national ideal. "Had he lived in a more poetic age," says Mr. Brewer, "and died before the divorce, he might, without any great effort of imagination, have stood for the hero of an epic poem."[2] Unsurpassed in the tourna-

[1] Brewer, i. p. 2. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 4.

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ment, a match for the tallest archers in his guard, in stature and in muscular strength without a rival, he was no less pre-eminent in the accomplishments of the day. He spoke French, Italian, and Spanish, could write Latin, was passionately fond of music, and though devoted, as it seemed, to mummeries and masquerades and the gorgeous pageantry for which his court became famous, he was yet regular and business-like, reading and noting despatches, signing warrants, letters, etc., only after careful perusal. Such a view is difficult to reconcile with the popular account of the easygoing, pleasure-loving monarch, anxious only to spend the wealth which his father had so laboriously amassed. The concreteness and reality of a history, drawn directly from the letters of contemporaries, is nowhere better seen than in the descriptions of the young monarch. In our century, newspapers form no inconsiderable item in political history. A modern ambassador does not fill his despatches with descriptions of the personal attractions of a newly crowned king. Three centuries ago it was different, and it is to the secret memoir of the Venetian ambassador Giustinian that we owe the following description of Henry VIII.:[1]—

"His Majesty is twenty-nine years old and extremely handsome. Nature could not have done more for him. He is much handsomer than any other sovereign in Christendom, a great deal handsomer than the King of France; very fair, and his whole frame admirably proportioned. On hearing that Francis I. wore a beard, he allowed his own to grow, and, as it is reddish, he has now got a beard that looks like gold. He is very accomplished; a good musician; composes well; is a most capital horseman; a fine jouster; speaks good French, Latin, and Spanish; is very religious; hears three masses daily when he hunts, and sometimes five on other days. He hears the Office every day in the queen's chamber—that is to say, vesper and compline. He is very fond of hunting, and never takes his diversion without tiring eight or ten horses, which he causes to be stationed beforehand along the line of country he means to take; and when one is tired he mounts

[1] Giust., "Desp.," ii. 312, ap. Brewer, i. 8, 9.

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another, and before he gets home they are all exhausted. He is extremely fond of tennis, at which game it is the prettiest thing in the world to see him play, his fair skin glowing through a shirt of the finest texture."

Even as late as the year 1530, when the king was nearly forty, and age and indulgence had begun to leave their marks upon him, Lodovico Falier writes—

"In this Eighth Henry God has combined such corporeal and intellectual beauty as not merely to surprise but astound all men. . . . His face is angelic rather than handsome; his head imperial and bold; and he wears a beard, contrary to English custom. Who would not be amazed when contemplating such singular beauty of person coupled with such bold address, adapting itself with the greatest ease to every manly exercise?"[1]

To another Venetian, Pasqualigo, writing in 1515, we owe the description of Henry at a solemn reception.

"He wore a cap of crimson velvet, in the French fashion, and the brim was looped up all round with lacets and gold-enamelled tags. His doublet was in the Swiss fashion, striped alternately with white and crimson satin, and his hose were scarlet, and all slashed from the knee upwards. Very close round his neck he had a gold collar, from which there hung a rough-cut diamond the size of the largest walnut I ever saw, and to this was suspended a most beautiful and very large round pearl. His mantle was of purple velvet lined with white satin; the sleeves open, with a train more than four Venetian yards long. His mantle was girt in front like a gown with a thick gold cord, from which there hung large golden acorns like those suspended from a cardinal's hat: over the mantle was a very handsome gold collar, with a pendant St. George entirely of diamonds. Beneath the mantle he wore a pouch of cloth of gold, which covered a dagger; and his fingers were one mass of jewelled rings."[2]

Such was the new King of England, all the more dazzling when contrasted with the other sovereigns of Europe at the time of his accession, the prematurely old and gouty Louis,

[1] Brown's "Ven. Cal.," iv. p. 293. [2] Brewer, i. 9, 10.

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the bankrupt Maximilian, and the timid and niggardly Ferdinand. Yet the first attempt of England to assert itself among European nations resulted in the ignominious failure of the invasion of Guienne. This was in 1512, and from that year dates the greatness of Thomas Wolsey. It was he who was the moving spirit in the expedition of 1513, noted for the heroic death of Admiral Howard and the subsequent surrender of Térouenne and Tournay; while at home, under Queen Katharine, Lord Surrey was conducting the war which ended with Flodden Field. The rapid success of England, as a military power, had remarkable results. It frightened Ferdinand into treacherous negotiations with France, while France became anxious for an alliance with England. The rupture that ensued between Henry and Ferdinand, and the timely death of the French queen, led to the negotiations for a marriage between Louis XII. and Mary Tudor. She had been betrothed to Prince Charles, on condition that he should marry her when he was fourteen years of age, but the dilatoriness of his grandfather, Maximilian, gave England an excuse for an open repudiation of the engagement, and Mary, in all the freshness of youth and beauty, was transferred from the sickly prince of fourteen to a royal roué of fifty-two,—her only consolation being the promise that, if she married this time to please her brother, she might marry the next time to please herself. A single letter[1] from Louis reveals a further scheme, which was only cut short by the French King's death soon after. Henry and Louis were to join in expelling Ferdinand from Navarre, while Henry, by right of his wife, was to take to himself the kingdom of Castile. This union of the royal families of France and England was a stroke of statesmanship of which England might well be proud. It was the recognition of the fact that, within five years of his accession, Henry had taken his place in the front rank of European sovereigns.

If we attempt to discover to whom the credit of thus raising England in the scale of action is due, the answer of the State Papers is unhesitating. The central figure among

[1] State Papers, i. 5637.

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the king's councillors is Thomas Wolsey, then Dean of Lincoln. It was on him and on Ruthal, Bishop of Durham, who "sang treble to the cardinal's base,"[1] that the weight of public business fell. The Duke of Norfolk, of Flodden fame, was Wolsey's great rival, Charles Brandon his intimate but faithless friend. It seems almost a pity that Dr. Brewer's two volumes should not have been called a history of the public life of Wolsey; for this is the central thought of the whole, and the wearisome complications and intricacies, through the mazes of which the author threads his way, are but the setting of the picture. Dr. Brewer makes no secret of the fact that he holds a brief for Wolsey, the great cardinal to whom posterity has done such scant justice, being content to accept the biassed statements of private enmity or theological animus. But the strength of a chain is, after all, that of its weakest link, and while it is interesting to find contemporary documents bearing out the substantial truth of the history of William Shakespeare and David Hume, it is all the more surprising when we remember the line of succession by which these writers were connected with Wolsey's own time—Vergil, Hall, Foxe,[2] Burnet and Strype, Hume on the one side; Vergil and Hall, Holinshed, Shakespeare on the other. Of these Hall and Vergil are contradictory authorities, the common calumnies against Wolsey being due to the latter. The State Papers show us what Polydore Vergil's testimony is worth. Vergil was factor to Hadrian, formerly papal collector in England and absentee Bishop of Bath and Wells. According to the common story, Wolsey, on failing to receive Hadrian's assistance in his efforts to attain the cardinalate, revenged himself on the deputy and imprisoned him in the Tower. There is not a vestige of producible evidence for this, but the true cause of Polydore's disgrace becomes clear. He seems

[1] Giust., "Desp.," i. 260.

[2] Dr. Brewer's opinion of Foxe is worth quoting. "Had Foxe, the Martyrologist, been an honest man, his carelessness and credulity would have incapacitated him from being a trustworthy historian. Unfortunately he was not honest; he tampered with the documents that came into his hands, and freely indulged in those very faults of suppression and equivocation for which he condemned his opponents" (i. 52, f.n.).

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to have been in the habit of writing to his patron, Cardinal Hadrian, letters in which he freely criticized both the king and Wolsey as well as the Pope. One of these letters, being intercepted, was sent to the Pope, and by him sent on to Wolsey. The result, not unnaturally, was that Polydore was imprisoned and deprived of his office. From the Tower he wrote abject letters to Wolsey, which became ecstatic when Wolsey received the cardinal's hat. He only longed to gaze and bow in adoration, that his spirit might rejoice in Wolsey "*as in God my Saviour.*" Yet no sooner is he at liberty, and out of the cardinal's reach, than he writes the caricature[1] which has been taken for history and embellished by successive writers.[2]

A truer picture of what Wolsey really was is now possible. We may differ in our estimate of the value and ultimate success of his work as a whole, but of his tremendous power in England, and on the Continent, there is no room to doubt. The following description of him is given by Sebastian Giustinian in 1519:—

"He is about forty-six years old, very handsome, learned, extremely eloquent, of vast ability, and indefatigable. He alone transacts the same business as that which occupies all the magistracies, offices, and councils of Venice, both civil and criminal; and all State affairs likewise are managed by him, let their nature be what it may.

"He is pensive, and has the reputation of being extremely just. He favours the people exceedingly, and especially the poor, hearing their suits and seeking to despatch them instantly. He also makes the lawyers plead gratis for all paupers. He is in very high repute, seven times more so than if he were Pope.

[1] Brewer, i. 266.

[2] It is to the indiscriminate satire of Skelton that we probably owe the story of Wolsey's "greasy genealogy," for which there is little or no evidence. Even Vergil does not notice it. On the other hand the Privy Seal, Feb. 21, 1510, granted to Edmund Dandy, empowers him to found a chantry in the southern nave of St. Lawrence, Ipswich, "to pray for the good estate of the king and the queen, and among others for the souls of Robert Wolsey and Joan his wife, father and mother of Thomas Wolsey, Dean of Lincoln" (Brewer, i. 61).

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"He is the person who rules both the king and the entire kingdom. On the ambassador's first arrival in England he used to say, '*His Majesty will do so and so;*' subsequently he went on forgetting himself and commenced saying, '*We shall do so and so;*' at this present he has reached such a pitch that he says, '*I shall do so and so.*'"[1]

It was natural that jealous rivals should charge Wolsey with ambition, especially when his sun had set, and it was possible to point the moral at a vaulting ambition which overleaps itself. But we are concerned with Wolsey as he was in his greatness, before the days came in which his enthusiastic loyalty, rather than any desire for self-aggrandizement, plunged him into the miserable divorce litigation which was destined to be his ruin.

"The bent of his genius," says Dr. Brewer, "was exclusively political; but it leaned more to foreign than domestic politics. It shone more conspicuous in great diplomatic combinations, for which the earlier years of the reign furnished favourable opportunities, than in domestic reforms. No man understood so well the interests of this kingdom in its relations to foreign powers, or pursued them with greater skill and boldness. The more hazardous the conjuncture the higher his spirit soared to meet it. His intellect expanded with the occasion."[2] At the climax of his power "he saw at his feet, what no Pope had for a long time seen, and no subject before or since, princes, kings, and Emperors courting his smiles. Born to command, infinitely superior in genius to those who addressed him, piercing their motives at a glance, he was lofty and impatient. But there is not a trace throughout his

[1] "Despatches," ii. 314, apud Brewer, i. 60. This is specially interesting as bearing on the popular story that Wolsey was guilty of writing "ego et Rex meus," which people have tried to explain as good Latin, but bad policy, at least for a servant of Henry VIII. But as a matter of fact Hall has perverted the real charge. In the articles against him Wolsey is charged with using the expression "the king and I," and is condemned for coupling himself with the King, "using himself more like a fellow to your Highness than a subject." Hall, from whom the popular story comes, misrepresents this, stating as the accusation against the cardinal that he said "'I and my king,' as who should say that the king was his servant." Cf. Brewer, ii. 402, f.n.

[2] i. 57.

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correspondence of the ostentation of vulgar triumph or gratified vanity. Grave and earnest, it occasionally descends to irony, is sometimes pungent, never vainglorious. Ambassadors from foreign courts, when they first visit England, address themselves to the king and write letters to the council. After a few weeks a little penetration enables them to discover by whose judgment and decision every great question will be eventually decided." [1]

Before, however, Wolsey attained the height of his greatness the scene of European politics had shifted. In 1515, the year after the cession of Tournay, Francis became King of France. The year after, Charles ascended the throne of Spain, and on the death of the "dilapidated Emperor" Maximilian, three years later, was elected to succeed him. The future of Europe was thus placed in the hands of three young sovereigns, almost of the same age, whose intrigues and combinations make up the political history of the next quarter of a century. It is the habit with Protestant historians, in order to justify the action of Luther and his followers, to exaggerate the tyranny of the Popes. As a mere matter of history nothing could be more misleading. John Bunyan is much nearer the truth when he says of Giant Pope that "though he be yet alive, he is, by reason of age, and also of the many shrewd brushes that he met with in his younger days, grown so crazy and stiff in his joints that he can now do little more than sit in the cave's mouth, grinning at pilgrims as they go by and biting his nails because he cannot come at them." [2]

The days of Hildebrand and Innocent III. and Boniface VIII. had gone, never to return. Interdicts and excommunications had lost their terrors. In the sixteenth century emperors did not "go to Canossa." The Pope was little more than a makeweight in the political combinations of the day, often a mere shuttlecock between France and the Empire, feebly trying to preserve a balance of power, and violating every engagement he had made when his ally, for the time being, became too strong. The spiritual factor in sixteenth-century politics was reduced to a minimum.

[1] Brewer, i. 58.

[2] "Pilgrim's Progress."

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But there was another power at work, which, however disguised in the common histories, is laid bare by the State Papers. It is a question which has been hotly debated between the defenders and opponents of political economy, whether it is possible to "isolate the phenomena of wealth" and treat man merely as "a money-getting animal." There is no doubt which side the State Papers take. If we except England, which, relatively speaking, was rich enough to take its own line, the policy of the leading sovereigns of Europe is always resolvable into considerations of *l. s. d.* Whether it was an imperial election, or a Conclave to elect a Pope, or the disposal of a princess in marriage, or the making or unmaking of an alliance, mattered not. Of course all the great sovereigns were intensely orthodox, though the Catholic Monarch sacked Rome and imprisoned the Holy Father, and the Most Christian King when it suited him made an alliance with the Turk, and the Defender of the Faith discovered that he could divorce his wife without papal consent. The warlike Julius, the cultured Leo, Adrian, the "carpet-bag Pope," the ill-fated Clement, were all regarded by the kings of Europe as absolutely supreme, when it suited them, but generally it was a war of intellect, in which the keenest and most unscrupulous won the day.

Neither Henry nor Wolsey were wanting in the duplicity which then passed for diplomacy; nor was such duplicity inconsistent with plain English honesty in private matters. International relations were not supposed to admit of ideal morality. The view, which the author of *Phrontisterion* fathers on the modern utilitarian, was the commonly accepted one in the politics of the sixteenth century. Conscience was treated as if it were

"Amiable in individuals, childish weakness in a nation."

For the science of international politics had become like a game of chess, in which no one expected consideration from a rival, or truthfulness in the statement of motives. That Wolsey could hold his own in this kind of warfare is clear. Witness his unblushing falsehoods to the French minister about the death of Buckingham, and the elaborate dishonesty

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of the Calais Conference. But the cardinal, either from "insular experience of diplomatic chicanery," or from greater subtlety in deceit, secured for his country, on more than one occasion, a great advantage. He sometimes told the truth. And as Mr. Brewer remarks [1] in reference to the negotiations with Charles' ambassadors about the liberation of Francis after Pavia, "the undisguised frankness of his remarks served better to deceive them than the most subtle artifice." Nothing could be more disconcerting. It had the same effect on his political rivals as a thoroughly bad move deliberately made by a good chess-player. It could only be a cover or a blind for some deep scheme. The Field of the Cloth of Gold deceived no one, least of all the Kings of France and England, as to the deep-seated rivalry which existed between them; but it was indeed a refinement of policy to tell the truth, and it was an expedient rarely resorted to. On the other hand, Wolsey did not shrink from carrying with him, on his diplomatic errands, duplicate sets of commissions, the one set being his real instructions, the other a blind for the court to which he was going, all equally authoritative and bearing the same date.[2]

England indeed, by reason of her wealth, could afford sometimes to despise the ordinary methods of diplomacy. But the gorgeous pageants began to tell upon the royal exchequer, and on Wolsey devolved the invidious duty of replenishing it. It is doubtful whether the cardinal has ever received full credit for his financial work. Though his greatness lay in his foreign diplomacy, it is open to men to say that the result was a failure. But of his domestic policy there can be but one opinion. He reduced to order the wasteful expenditure of the king's household, reconstructed the Court of Chancery, wisely diverted monastic property to the cause of education, had schemes for redeeming, or at least commuting, the payment of annates, and even for bringing within limits the reckless prodigality of the king himself. And when money had to be provided for war with France it was Wolsey who determined on the remarkable method by

[1] ii. 64. [2] i. 419.

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which the contributions were assessed. This Parliament was the only one which met during Wolsey's greatness. The last had been held in 1515, when Wolsey was rising into notice, and the next was the great Reformation Parliament of 1529, which met after his fall. The reasons for summoning Parliament in 1523 were of course financial, but it has especial interest for us for two reasons. It is the first of which we get a contemporary account in private letters, and it is the first occasion, on which there were brought into contact Thomas Wolsey, Thomas More, and Thomas Crumwell. The last-named was at this time merchant, cloth-dyer, scrivener, money-lender, and attorney. The next year he is found in Wolsey's service. Without attempting to follow the discussions of this Parliament, in which the cause was as popular as the granting a subsidy was unpleasant, we cannot help noticing that the Act, as it finally passed, was *the first attempt at scientific taxation known in England.*

"After all the studies of the economists during the last two centuries we have reverted to the principles, and almost to the practice, of the great minister, who with no complete statistics, no means, no organization, such as modern financiers can abundantly command, struck out in the necessity of the moment, under the pressure of a great war, a financial scheme which has never yet been surpassed in the sweep and fairness of its operation or the general correctness of its theory." [1]

That such taxation would stir up ill-feeling was as certain as that Henry would shift the responsibility to his minister. No man ever knew better how to use a faithful servant as a scapegoat. When, two years later, it was again necessary to levy a war tax, Wolsey hit upon the scheme of an amicable loan. Hall's account of the cardinal's interview with the mayor and corporation of London shows how little freewill was allowed to those whose privilege it was to contribute to the king's needs. "Sirs," said the cardinal, "speak not to break what is concluded, for some shall not pay even a tenth—and it were better that a few should suffer indigence, than the king at this time should lack. Beware, therefore, and resist

[1] Brewer, i. 493.

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not, nor ruffle not in this case; otherwise it may fortune to cost some their heads."[1] The highwayman's formula, "Your money or your life," has the great merit of surpassing even Wolsey's speech in brevity, but it is hardly more forcible. It was no wonder that people "cursed the cardinal." Yet, in this unpopular attempt, it was his loyalty which made him act against his own convictions, and when the people in many counties *did* dare to resist and "ruffle," it was he who interceded with the king and secured the withdrawal of the commission. In spite of this the Commons never forgot their grudge to the cardinal, and Henry remembered only the rebuff which he had been compelled to accept. Wolsey's own words, pathetic as they are, are a key to his character. He would not vindicate himself, because to do so he must inculpate the king. "Every man," he says, "layeth the burthen from him; I am content to take it on me, and to endure the fame and noise of the people, for my goodwill towards the king and comfort of you, my lords, and other the king's councillors; *but the eternal God knoweth all.*"[2]

It is sometimes said that the clue to Wolsey's policy is to be found in his hope of the *tiara*, and that Charles simply outwitted him by promising to use his influence in the election. Such a charge is difficult to refute, partly because there is so much truth in it. Wolsey's policy was again and again defeated by the stolid selfishness of the Emperor, but it had never been merely a German policy. His object from first to last, or at least till the divorce drove him from his true position, was to keep Francis and Charles in such perfect equilibrium that England could at any moment turn the scale; but that Wolsey trusted Charles, or believed that the Emperor's influence would be used on his behalf, and for that reason allowed himself to be drawn away from what seemed to him the true English policy, has yet to be proved. There were two occasions on which Wolsey might have had thoughts of the Papacy, and on neither occasion had he any more real chance of it than Henry had of succeeding Maximilian as Emperor. The first occasion was on the death of Leo, the

[1] Brewer, ii. 49. [2] Hall's "Chron.," p. 700.

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second on the death of Adrian. We are now able to sweep away the cobwebs of three centuries and a half of history-writing and read the true story. The most secret combinations of the Conclaves are now known, and Wolsey appears as a candidate, almost against his will, in a contest in which, from the first, he could have had no hope of success. That King Henry wished it and wrote strongly to Charles, and that Charles wrote back promising everything, is true enough. But there we part company with the usual accounts. The story that Wolsey was three times voted on, and had nine, twelve, and finally nineteen votes, is quite untrue. Wolsey was never voted on but *once*, and then received seven votes. Charles never dreamt of pressing his claims, but, three days before the Conclave met, arranged with De Medici (afterwards Pope Clement VII.) through his ambassador, Don Manuel, that, in the event of the choice not falling on De Medici, the Cardinal of Tortosa should be put forward as the imperial candidate. And then Charles writes to Henry,[1] "The election fell on a party never contemplated, and appears to have been rather the work of God than of man." This was certainly diplomacy, and the devoutness of the closing sentence was a touch of genius.

The same kind of thing happened two years later on the death of Adrian. It was probably part of the late compact that, if De Medici voted for the imperial candidate, the Emperor would favour De Medici in the next Conclave. Again Charles was full of promises to the King of England. He even wrote to his ambassador at Rome, the Duke of Sessa, desiring him to do all he could to secure Wolsey's election. This letter arrived long after the election, and a private communication of Charles, now published, explains the reason. He had deliberately *caused the courier who carried the despatch to be detained at Barcelona.*[2]

The popular view of Wolsey's anxiety for the triple crown certainly finds no confirmation in the letter he wrote to the king on the election of Clement, or in the contemporary accounts of unprejudiced ambassadors. And it is almost

[1] State Papers, iii. 2024, apud Brewer, i. 447. [2] Brewer, i. 576.

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impossible to believe that he really supposed the Emperor to be favouring his cause. Four years later, when the unhappy Clement was in captivity, and the cardinal was about to start on his mission to Francis, the imperial ambassador tried the bait of the pontificate, and Wolsey's only reply was, "God forbid that I should be influenced by such motives. It is enough for me, if the Emperor really intend to replace the Pope, and restore the Church to its former splendour."[1]

The last years of Wolsey's administration are darkened by the divorce. His fall began long before his disgrace. It dates from the time when he consented to use against the helpless queen, a stranger in a strange land, all the diplomatic arts which he had long practised in his public policy. Even Mr. Brewer admits that "it is not pleasant to have to chronicle the artifices, the dissimulation, the fraud, the intimidation, employed to hunt down a forlorn and defenceless woman."[2] And there is the less need for us to do so here, because the whole question of the divorce, and Mr. Brewer's contribution to the literature of the subject, have already been thoroughly investigated in the pages of this review.[3] It will, therefore, only be necessary to touch upon a few points.

The victory of Pavia had overthrown Wolsey's schemes. That Charles should be supreme and without a rival in Europe was not to be thought of, and Wolsey therefore proceeded to play his second card. From this point the imperial alliance recedes into the background, though without any open breach, and France and England become more closely associated; till, on April 30, 1527, a treaty was signed by which, in spite of the opposition of Charles, the Princess Mary was to be betrothed to the Duke of Orleans, Francis' second son, at that time a prisoner in Spain; and in return France was to give an annual tribute of salt, 50,000 crowns by way of pension, and two millions of gold crowns to be paid by convenient instalments.

It was during the visit of the French ambassador, the Bishop of Tarbes, according to the account afterwards circulated, that

[1] Brewer, ii. 210. [2] *Ibid.*, ii. 185.
[3] *Church Quarterly Review*, No. vi., Jan. 1877.

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the question of Mary's legitimacy was first raised. Apart from its intrinsic improbability, the story is discredited entirely by what we now know of the chronology of the divorce. It had by this time been long a subject of secret negotiation at Rome. On September 13, 1526, Clerk writes to Wolsey about the difficulties attending "that cursed divorce" ("*circa istud benedictum divortium*").[1] But nearly a year before that, on October 30, 1525, we get dark allusions to matters of correspondence between Wolsey and others which cannot be trusted to writing. It is not too much to assume that an allusion in a letter of Archbishop Warham, under date of April 12, 1525, to "this great matter of the king's grace"[2] has reference to the proposed divorce or dissolution of marriage. This almost exactly tallies with Henry's statement to Grynæus in 1531 that for seven years—*i.e.* from 1524—he had ceased to treat Katharine as his wife.

The "royal scruples" thus date back probably to the early part of the year 1525, and it is just conceivable that they were not suggested by any particular feeling for Anne Boleyn. If so, the king's scruples of conscience might have been conscientious scruples at first, based upon a real doubt whether the want of a male heir was not a judgment of God on a marriage that was no marriage. But it is worth noticing that Anne Boleyn returned to England from France[3] in the early part of 1522, and in March of that year took part in a Court revel with "Mistress Parker" (better known as the infamous Lady Rochford), while in the same year honours began to fall thick upon her father, Sir Thomas Boleyn. Whatever Anne may have been—and she was hardly likely to have received too strict notions at the Court of Francis and his darling sister Marguerite[4]—she was probably wise

[1] State Papers, iv. 1109, apud Brewer, ii. 163.

[2] *Ibid.*, iv. 1263.

[3] Mr. Brewer, in a foot-note to ii. 171, gives an amusing specimen of Anne Boleyn's proficiency in French from a letter written apparently from dictation and spelt phonetically.

[4] Margaret, Duchess d'Alençon, was a patron of Protestantism and wrote "The Mirror of a Sinful Soul." She was also the author of the licentious "Heptameron."

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enough[1] not to surrender herself to the king's passion, as others had done,[2] till she had secured from him a written promise to make her "his sole mistress, and remove all others from his affection."

Probably Wolsey at first regarded Henry's fancy for Anne Boleyn as merely a passing passion, and when he found that it could only be gratified by making Anne queen, he fell upon his knees and sought in vain to dissuade the king from it. "I assure you," he says to Kingston as he lay upon his death-bed at Leicester Abbey, "I have often kneeled before him in his privy chamber, on my knees, the space of an hour or two, to persuade him from his will and appetite; but I could never bring to pass to dissuade him therefrom."[3] But Wolsey had not the moral strength to oppose Henry. His was not the stuff of which martyrs are made. In this at least he contrasts ill with the bold Bishop of Rochester. To emphasize his romantic loyalty and enthusiastic devotion to his master, is to blind our judgment to the inherent weakness of character he displayed. One would gladly believe that the well-known words, "If I had served God as diligently as I have served the king, *He* would not have given me over in my grey hairs," implied more of self-reproach than of disappointment at the king's ingratitude. Even when he opposed Henry in the divorce, it was rather from a keen perception of the difficulty of carrying the matter through, than from any real thought of the injury done to the queen, and the blow that such a proceeding must inflict on the sanctity of marriage. There is not the slightest evidence that Wolsey suggested the scruples, but he certainly made himself the ready and unscrupulous agent of the king's

(*a*) Royal scruples.

[1] Henry's seventeen love letters to Anne would decide a good deal if their dates were only certain, but they are not.

[2] Of Henry's previous relations with Anne's sister Mary it is difficult to speak with certainty. But the matter cannot be dismissed as the invention of Dr. Sanders in the face of the king's tacit admission of the fact (see letter from Sir Geo. Throgmorton, quoted in Brewer, ii. 240, f.n.) and the extraordinary dispensation for which Henry applied, which was not only to dissolve his marriage with Katharine, but also to remove any canonical impediments arising from affinity contracted *ex illicito coitu*.

[3] Cavendish, p. 388, apud Brewer, ii. 180, f.n.

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design, when once it was determined, and thus was not unnaturally regarded by the queen as the cause of her sorrows.[1] Dr. Brewer even supposes, on the strength of a letter of Wolsey's, that the king originally intended simply to declare the marriage null without any trial at all, hoping, if necessary, to get the dispensation of Julius declared illegal, and that it was Wolsey who advised delay even while promising to "stick with" the king *usque ad mortem*.[2]

(β) Collusive suit.

Be this as it may, the divorce litigation occupied Wolsey till his fall. Dr. Brewer has brought to light "a collusive suit" which took place in May, 1527, in which Wolsey and Warham summon the king to answer to the charge that he is living in sin with his brother's widow. This ingenious farce made Henry appear as defendant in a matter in which he was really plaintiff. It was conducted with the greatest secresy, but apparently news of it reached Katharine, and the whole affair fell through. But the spirit which suggested it reappears in the king's constant asseverations, that he only wishes to be assured that his marriage is lawful, and so his interests and Katharine's were the same. It was by this device, that Wolsey succeeded in deceiving Warham and Fisher, till they came to believe that Katharine was foolishly opposing a scheme which had no object but the justifying her marriage to the world.

(May 6–16, 1527.)

The collusive suit having fallen through, nothing remained but an appeal to the Pope to annul the dispensation of Julius. But, in the May of this year, the wild horde of Fründsberg and Bourbon had sacked Rome, and the Pope was a prisoner in the castle of St. Angelo, closely watched by Spanish guards. It seemed impossible to win from him, what Wolsey wanted, a commission to try the matter without appeal. Meanwhile a short cut had been suggested to the king, and Knight was sent to the Pope, independently of Wolsey's

[1] A writer in the *Quarterly Review* of January, 1877, argues in favour of the view that Wolsey first suggested the divorce; but it does not seem to us that his authorities prove more than that he was, as he undoubtedly was, one of "the cheife setters forth of the divorce betweene the king and the Queene Catharine."

[2] Brewer, ii. 181, 182.

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negotiations, to apply not for the annulling of the old dispensation or a commission to try the case, but for a new dispensation allowing Henry to have two wives. The instrument chosen was as clumsy as the scheme proposed, and Knight's errand resulted in a ludicrous failure.

(γ) Two wives.

The matter naturally reverted to Wolsey's hands, and delay was full of danger for him. His unpopularity had rapidly increased. The divorce was distasteful in England, and Wolsey was hated for attempting to further it. On the other hand, the Boleyn party were scheming for his downfall. He was no longer entirely trusted by the king, as was shown by Knight's mission. His new colleges at Ipswich and Oxford were regarded with disfavour not only by the monks, but by English people generally. If the monastic system had seen its best days, men did not yet understand how educational endowments were to take its place. And now the alliance with France increased the cardinal's unpopularity. English *broadcloths could not be manufactured without Spanish oils, and commerce with Spain was at an end.* The closing of the Flemish ports put a stop to the lucrative traffic in Lutheran literature, and the attempt to *divert trade from Antwerp to Calais* caused general dissatisfaction. For Wolsey everything now depended on a rapid and successful issue of the divorce litigation. Yet even when the long-wished-for COMMISSION was appointed, and Wolsey and Campeggio were authorized to try the case, unexpected delays arose. An important brief, sent by Pope Julius to Ferdinand in confirmation of the bull, was known to exist, and till this could be secured, it was useless to point out irregularities in the bull itself. Yet all Wolsey's schemes for getting possession of this brief were unsuccessful. Campeggio was constantly ill with the gout, and matters dragged on slowly. Meanwhile the Pope had been again appealed to, to authorize a second marriage without invalidating the first, supposing Katharine could be persuaded to enter "lax religion." The poor Pope was "between the hammer and the anvil," for Charles had now taken up Katharine's cause. But the sack of Rome and a six months' imprisonment were things not easily forgotten,

(δ) The commission.

(Various delays.)

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(e) Cause revoked to Rome.

and Clement on July 19, 1529, revoked the cause to Rome and annulled the work of the legates, which had now extended over twelve months.

With the Legatine Court Wolsey's power was at an end. His enemies gathered their forces round him. By a trick of the law, as unjust as it was ungenerous, he is brought under a *præmunire*, stripped of his property, his colleges spoiled, and he himself banished to his northern diocese, where in a little while he won all hearts.[1] But the malice of the Boleyn faction would not rest here. The utter incompetence of the king's new advisers might at any moment necessitate the recall of the great cardinal. By the perverted evidence of the Italian physician, Augustine, a charge of treason is made out. Wolsey is arrested on a warrant by his bitter enemy, the Earl of Northumberland, at Cawood, delivered over at Sheffield House to Kingston, and dies at Leicester Abbey on his way to the Tower. An Englishman to the backbone, he had, in the fifteen years of his administration, raised his country from the position of a third-rate power till she had become the arbiter of the destinies of Europe. To his loyalty and devotion to his master he would gladly have sacrificed his life, as he had often sacrificed his reputation and his conscience. Yet he died with the brand of *traitor* on his name. Such is the irony of history, which triumphant malice calls the judgment of God.

[1] A pamphlet published in 1536, quoted by Dr. Wordsworth (ap. Brewer, ii. 416), bears the following remarkable testimony to Wolsey's behaviour during his banishment:—"Who was less beloved in the north than my lord cardinal—God have his soul!—before he was amongst them? Who better beloved after he had been there awhile? We hate oftimes whom we have good cause to love. It is a wonder to see how they were turned, how of utter enemies they became his dear friends. He gave bishops a right good example how they might win men's hearts. There were few holy days but he would ride five or six miles from his house, now to this parish church, now to that, and there cause one or other of his doctors to make a sermon unto the people. He sat amongst them and said mass before all the parish" (unlike the bishops of the time); "he saw why churches were made. He began to restore them to their right and proper use. He brought his dinner with him, and bade divers of the parish to it. He enquired whether there was any debate or grudge between any of them. If there were, after dinner he sent for the parties to the church and made them all one. Men say well that do well. God's laws shall never be so set by as they ought before they be well known."

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Dr. Brewer has nobly vindicated the character of the great cardinal, but he would be the last to wish it to be thought that this is the only result of his years of research. Cardinal Wolsey is the central figure of the age because he stands midway between the old and the new era. In the height of his greatness he wields the forces of both; in his decline he is crushed between them. Too much of a reformer for the men of the old learning, he seemed to the reforming party a representative of the ancient superstition. While the old order was changing and giving place to the new, Wolsey for a moment seemed to hold the flood gates ajar; but it was only for a moment, and then the flood rushed on.

"My readers," says Dr. Brewer towards the close of his first volume,[1] "will have perused the events narrated in these pages to little purpose if they think that this new epoch in the world's progress depended upon the election of a Pope or an Emperor, the disappointment of an Augustinian friar at Wittemberg, or the misconduct of a papal nuncio. When life is ebbing, and the advent of a new existence is at hand, advancing as noiselessly and yet as certain as the dawn, blandly tolerant of our small cares and griefs as it sweeps along, but not the more to be diverted from its benevolent and irresistible course, we are apt to think that its progress might have been stayed had our wisdom devised different measures and adopted in due time other remedies than those on which we relied. So is it with the death and the new life of the world. We mistake its causes; we misread its meaning. True love, and not less wise than true, will shed a tear, and strew the dead with flowers; then turning its face to the grey and shivering dawn, bind up its loins for the new race, though different to our seeming, not less full of life, not less divine, than that which has passed irrevocably away."

At the end of the second volume Dr. Brewer returns to the same thought, and interprets it in a way which suggests an appropriate warning at the present time. The Reformation did not owe its origin to Tyndale or to Parliament—to Lutheran heretics or to royal scruples. The ploughmen and

[1] i. 580.

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shepherds who read the New Testament under hedges, exist only in the imagination of some writers of our day. The Reformed Church was the reflex of the new England of Henry VIII.'s reign. It was the Church of the middle classes, who were rising into prominence, and it reflects some of the salient features of their character. In it the vigorous spiritual life of the English Church adapted itself to the new conditions of the national existence. The continuity of the Church was as true and real as the continuity of the nation; but a change had passed over both. An age was beginning "not less full of life, not less divine" than that which was passing away. The Church of the Reformation was the Church of the middle classes, and Dr. Brewer adds, in words which, as we look back, seem almost prophetic, "It is only when political power shall have been transferred to new hands, and new classes shall have supplanted the old, that the Church of England will cease to be their exclusive representative, or the rigid exponent of the Reformation. Only then will it be called upon to modify its teaching and enlarge its sympathies."[1] But England of the Reformation is as far removed from England of the nineteenth century, as from England under Plantagenet rule. The transference of political power, which is taking place under our eyes, is the result not of civil wars destroying an old nobility, but of the gradual evolution of the nation and the wise extension of the franchise. The methods of the Reformation are a glaring anachronism in our day, nowhere more conspicuously so than in that grotesque modern parody of sixteenth-century legislation, the Public Worship Regulation Act. We are rising to a conception of unity, which is higher than that of uniformity; and what was possible, and perhaps necessary, in the Tudor period, has a strangely antique look in ours. Dr. Brewer's admirable sketch of the characteristics of the Englishman of the middle class as "moral, but not devout; religious, but not fervent; strictly observant of his duties, but intolerant and impatient of anything beyond them," serves to show us what to avoid; for, whatever was the case three hundred years ago, a Church which is only the

[1] ii. 479.

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Church of the middle classes can no longer claim to be the Church of England. And it is a significant fact that, whereas, within the memory of the present generation, there was a time when the National Church seemed strangled by Acts of Uniformity, and bound hand and foot in the grave-cloths of respectability, now all is changed. And the new phase on which the Church has entered, "not less full of life, not less divine," is marked by two characteristics;—a more earnest and intelligent grasp of the unchanging truth, the doctrine, discipline, and sacraments of the divine society, and yet, consistently with this, a readiness and eagerness so to set forth that truth, that not only the great middle classes, but high and low, rich and poor, may meet together, and the English people may find their home, where their cradle was,—in the English Church.

LECTURE VIII.

THE REFORMATION PARLIAMENT, 1529–1536—ECCLESIASTICAL LEGISLATION OF 1529.

CHRONOLOGY OF PARLIAMENT AND CONVOCATION, 1529–1536.[1]

Parliament.		*Convocation of Canterbury.*	
1529.		1529.	
Nov. 3.	Parliament opened. New lord chancellor, More. New Speaker, Audley.	Nov. 5.	Convocation meets at St. Paul's.
Dec. 17.	King assents to— *Probate Act*, 21 Hen. VIII. c. 5. *Mortuaries Act*, 21 Hen. VIII. c. 6. *Pluralities Act*, 21 Hen. VIII. c. 13. Fisher's opposition to passing of two former. Prorogation.	Nov. 12.	Convocation discusses internal reforms. Complaints as to Præmunire.[2]
		Dec. 24.	Prorogued to April 29, 1531.

[1] [See the comparative tables by Bishop Stubbs in the "Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," vol. i. pp. 76–112.]

[2] Dixon, i. 32.

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Parliament.

1530.

Nov. 29. Death of Wolsey.

1531.

Jan. 16. Parliament meets after repeated prorogations.

King's *pardon granted to—*

Clergy of Province of Canterbury, 22 Hen. VIII. c. 15.

Laity, 22 Hen. VIII. c. 16.

Opinions of foreign universities on divorce read.

Mar. 31. Parliament prorogued.

1532.

Jan. 15. Parliament meets.

Bill of Wards rejected.

Mar. 18. Supplication against the Ordinaries presented; *i.e.* against legislation by the clergy, and against clerical abuses.

Ap. 30. Answer of the Convocation laid before the Commons.

Statutes as to *Benefit of Clergy*, 23 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

And as to *Uses and Feoffments*, 23 Hen. VIII. c. 10.

And *Restraint of Annates*,[1] 23 Hen. VIII. c. 20.

Pardon granted to clergy of Province of York, 23 Hen. VIII. c. 19.

May 14. Prorogued.

May 16. More resigns the chancellorship.

1533. Early in this year, or on Nov. 14, 1532, the king marries Anne Boleyn.

Convocation of Canterbury.

1530.

Ap. 29. Prorogued.

May 24. King present at an informal assembly.

Dec. Clergy under Præmunire.

1531.

Jan. 21. Convocation meets at Westminster.

Jan. 24. Agrees to subsidy of £100,044 8*s*. 8*d*.

Feb. 7. Supremacy clause suggested.

Feb. 11. Warham's amendment as to wording of the Supremacy clause unanimously adopted.

Mar. 22. Formal grant of the subsidy, in which the Supremacy clause is inserted.

Ap. 1. Prorogued.

(May 4. York grants £18,840 0*s*. 10*d*., and adopts the Supremacy clause; but Tunstall protests against it.)

1532.

Jan. 16. Convocation meets.

Busy with practical reforms;[2] proscribes certain heretical books, including the Confession of Augsburg.

Ap. 12 and May 6. Debates on answers to the Supplication.

Ap. 19. First answer, supervised by Gardiner, approved.

May 8. Second answer approved.

May 10. Three articles as to canons and constitutions provincial sent down by the king.

May 15. Prorogued after assenting to these articles amended—the "*Submission of the Clergy*."

(Aug. 23. Death of Archbishop Warham.)

1533.

Feb. 5. Convocation meets at Westminster.

[1] Ibid., i. 134.

[2] Ibid., i. 88-91.

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Parliament.

Feb. 4. Parliament meets.

Between Mar. 31 and Ap. 10, passes *Act in Restraint of Appeals*, 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12.

Ap. 7. Prorogued.

July 9. King's Letters Patent confirm the conditional abolition of annates.

1534.

Jan. 15. Parliament meets.
Passes—
Act of Submission of the Clergy and Restraint of Appeals, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19.
Act for the Restraint of Annates, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 20.
Act against Peter Pence and Dispensations, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 21.
And *Act of Succession* (1), 25 Hen. VIII., c. 22.

Mar. 30. Parliament prorogued.

Nov. 3. Parliament meets.
Passes—
Act of Supreme Head, 26 Hen. VIII. c. 1.
Act of Succession (2), 26 Hen. VIII. c. 2.
Act giving Annates to the king, 26 Hen. VIII. c. 3.
Treasons Act, 26 Hen. VIII. c. 13.
Suffragan Bishops' Act, 26 Hen. VIII. c. 14.

1535.

(Jan. 15. King proclaims his title as "Head of the Church.")

Feb. 4. Prorogued.

Convocation of Canterbury.

Mar. 26–Ap. 5. The king's matter (*i.e.* the divorce question) discussed.

(Mar. 30. Cranmer consecrated to the see of Canterbury.)

April 8. Prorogued.

(May 10. Cranmer opens his court at Dunstable.)

(May 13. York discusses the king's matter.)

(May 23. Cranmer pronounces the sentence of divorce between the king and Katharine.)

(June 29. Henry appeals from the Pope to a General Council.)

(July 11. Clement VII. annuls the marriage with Anne Boleyn.)

1534.

Jan. 16. Convocation meets.

(Mar. 23. Clement VII. decides in favour of the validity of the marriage with Katharine.)

Mar. 31. Decides against the exclusive jurisdiction of the Pope.

(May 2. Similar decision by the University of Cambridge.)

(May 5. York decides in the same sense.)

(June 27. Similar decision by the University of Oxford.)

Nov. 4. Convocation meets.

Nov. 11. Title of Archbishop of Canterbury changed from "apostolicæ sedis legatus" to "metropolitanus"; discussion on heretical books.

Dec. 19. Prorogued.

1535.

(Oct. 2. Visitation of the monasteries begun.)

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Parliament.		*Convocation of Canterbury.*	
(June 9.	King proclaims abrogation of papal power in England.)		
(June 22.	Fisher, and July 6, More executed.)		
1536.		1536.	
(Jan. 7.	Death of Queen Katharine.)	Feb. 5.	Convocation meets.
Feb. 4.	Parliament meets. Passes— *Act of Uses and Wills*, 27 Hen. VIII. c. 10. *Act empowering king to name thirty-two commissioners to draw up ecclesiastical laws*, 27 Hen. VIII. c. 15. And *Act giving the king all monasteries of under £200 annual value*, 27 Hen. VIII. c. 28.		
Ap. 14.	Dissolved.	Ap. 14.	Dissolved.
(May 19.	Execution of Anne Boleyn.)		

ECCLESIASTICAL LEGISLATION OF THE REFORMATION PARLIAMENT, NOV., 1529, TO FEB., 1536.[1]

Regnal year begins April 22.

		General character of Act.
1529.	*Parliament met Nov.* 3.	
21 Hen. VIII. c. 1.	General pardon, except for treason and offences against the Provisors and the Præmunire Acts.	
21 Hen. VIII. c. 5.	Probate Act.	Clerical abuses.
21 Hen. VIII. c. 6.	Mortuaries Act.	Clerical abuses.
21 Hen. VIII. c. 13.	Pluralities Act. [§ 9 *repealed by* 1 *&* 2 *Philip and Mary, c.* 8.]	Clerical abuses.
1530.	(Clergy under Præmunire, Dec., 1530.)	
1531.	*Parliament met Jan.* 16.	
22 Hen. VIII. c. 14.	Abjuration of sanctuaries, challenging of juries, etc.	Benefit of clergy.
22 Hen. VIII. c. 15.	Pardon of the clergy of the Province of Canterbury } under Præmunire.	
22 Hen. VIII. c. 16.	Pardon of the laity } under Præmunire.	

[1] [See "Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," i. 32-40, and 43, 44.]

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1532.	*Parliament met Jan.* 15.	
23 Hen. VIII. c. 1.	"Clergy" limited to sub-deacon at least.	Benefit of clergy.
23 Hen. VIII. c. 9.	No person to be summoned out of his diocese (with exceptions). (Rider to Probate Act, 21 Hen. VIII. c. 5.) [*Repealed by* 1 *&* 2 *Philip and Mary, c.* 8. *Revived by* 1 *Eliz. c.* 1.]	Clerical abuses.
23 Hen. VIII. c. 10.	An Act of Uses and Feoffments.	Mortmain.
23 Hen. VIII. c. 11.	Convict clerks breaking prison.	Benefit of clergy.
23 Hen. VIII. c. 19.	Pardon of the Province of York under Præmunire.	
23 Hen. VIII. c. 20.	Restraint of annates (conditionally). Ratified July 9, 1533. [*Repealed by* 1 *&* 2 *Philip and Mary, c.* 8. *Revived by* 1 *Eliz. c.* 1.]	Anti-papal.
1533.	*Parliament met Feb.* 4. (King secretly marries Anne early in the year), [or Nov. 14, 1532].	
24 Hen. VIII. c. 12.	Restraint of appeals. [*Repealed by* 1 *&* 2 *Philip and Mary, c.* 8. *Revived by* 1 *Eliz. c.* 1.]	Anti-papal (Præmunire Act).
	(Archbishop Cranmer declares the marriage with Katharine void, May 23.)	
1534.	*Parliament met Jan.* 15.	
25 Hen. VIII. c. 3.	Benefit of clergy, (standing mute or challenging jury).	Benefit of clergy.
25 Hen. VIII. c. 12.	Attainder of Elizabeth Barton.	
25 Hen. VIII. c. 14.	Heresy Act.	
25 Hen. VIII. c. 16.	Exemption to Pluralities Act (rider to 21 Hen. VIII. c. 13).	
25 Hen. VIII. c. 19.	**Act of Restraint of Appeals and Submission of Clergy.**	Anti-papal.
25 Hen. VIII. c. 20.	**Act of Restraint of Annates, congé d'élire and letter missive.**	Anti-papal.
25 Hen. VIII. c. 21. Clement's Bull bears date Mar. 23, 1534.	**Act against Papal Dispensations, Peter pence, etc., etc. Exempt monasteries given to the king.** (N.B.—These three great Acts were primarily anti-papal, but also anti-ecclesiastical.) [*All repealed by* 1 *&* 2 *Philip and Mary, c.* 8. *All revived by* 1 *Eliz. c.* 1.]	Anti-papal.
25 Hen. VIII. c. 22.	Act of Succession (1).	Royal Supremacy.
	Parliament met again Nov. 3.	
26 Hen. VIII. c. 1.	Act of Supreme Head. [*Repealed by* 1 *&* 2 *Philip and Mary, c.* 8. *Repeal confirmed by* 1 *Eliz. c.* 1.]	Royal Supremacy.
26 Hen. VIII. c. 2.	Act of Succession (2) with oath of supremacy (retrospective).	Royal Supremacy.
26 Hen. VIII. c. 3.	Annates granted to the king.	Spoliation (No. 1).

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26 Hen. VIII. c. 13.	Treasons Act.	Royal Supremacy.
	{26 Hen. VIII. c. 22. Attainder of Fisher. 26 Hen. VIII. c. 23. Attainder of More.}	Royal Supremacy.
26 Hen. VIII. c. 14.	Suffragan bishops. [*Repealed by* 1 & 2 *Philip and Mary*, *c.* 8. *Revived by* 1 *Eliz.* 1.]	
1535.	(Visitation of monasteries begun Oct. 2, 1535.)	
1536.	*Parliament met Feb.* 4.	
27 Hen. VIII. c. 8.	Mitigation of annates.	
[27 Hen. VIII. c. 10.	Statute of Uses and Wills.	Spoliation (No. 2).]
27 Hen. VIII. c. 15.	Commission of thirty-two to be nominated. [*Repealed by* 1 & 2 *Philip and Mary*, *c.* 8. *Repeal confirmed by* 1 *Eliz.* 1, *the commission having expired.*]	
27 Hen. VIII. c. 28.	Suppression of smaller monasteries.	Spoliation (No. 3).
	New Parliament met June 8, 1536.	

We are now in a position to estimate the true bearing of the ecclesiastical legislation of Henry's reign, and also the justice or injustice of the arguments by which the several Acts were sustained. We shall find the vindication of the national independence of England and the attack on Church property interpenetrating each other, though, till the final break with Rome, the spoliation was meditated only, and the king was preparing for it by an unconstitutional attack on Church privileges.

Ecclesiastical legislation in this reign may be said to have begun with the Reformation Parliament, as it is called, which met in November, 1529, and held its last sitting in the spring of 1536. A fourteen months' prorogation made the year 1535 barren of ecclesiastical legislation, though the visitors of the monasteries were engaged in getting up a case for the suppression of the monasteries, which was the last important Act of this Parliament. During the five years, 1529–1534, all the anti-papal statutes were passed—Benefit of Clergy, Papal Annates, Restraint of Appeals, Act of Supremacy, and Treasons Act, together with the Acts which made dispensations, bulls, palls, etc., illegal, and the procuring of them an offence against the Statute of Præmunire.

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The question of doctrine we may fairly postpone till we come to compare the different formularies put forth in Henry's reign. It was openly stated that no change of doctrine was intended;[1] and even when it was found necessary to put forth formularies, they were a protest against heresy and an indication of the orthodoxy of the English Church. These formularies were, as we shall see, mainly the work of the Church itself; it was only the *discipline* and *temporalities* of the Church that as yet the State dared to take in hand.

The year 1529 had witnessed the fall of Wolsey. The divorce question, which had already dragged its slow length along for some four or five years, had been his ruin. After the solemn farce of trying the matter in the legatine court of Wolsey and Campeggio had been played out, the case was revoked to Rome (July 19), as had probably been intended all through, and the disappointed king made Wolsey the scape-goat. To those who knew the king, the trick by which the favourite was brought under the Præmunire Statute was full of meaning. It was the beginning of a reign of terror. Technically, no doubt, Wolsey might have pleaded exemption from the statute, on the ground that his legatine authority had been not only permitted, but secured to him by the king; but he knew Henry well enough to perceive that his best policy was submission. On February 12, 1530, he was pardoned, but accused of treason later on in the same year, and died on his way to the Tower (November 29, 1530).

A new phase of the divorce case had begun in the year of Wolsey's fall and the year of the first meeting of the Reformation Parliament. Thomas Cranmer appears on the scene, advocating a settlement of the question independently of the papal court. This suggestion struck the key-note of nearly all the legislation of this period—*the constitutional independ-*

[1] See Act for the Abolition of Annates, 23 Henry VIII. c. 20. [The words are, "And albeit that our said sovereign lorde the king and all his natural subjects as well spiritual as temporal be as obedient devout Catholic and humble children of God and Holy Church as any people be within any realm christened; yet the said exactions of Annates or First Fruits be so intolerable and importable to this realm," etc. See "Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," i. 211, where the whole statute is reprinted in the original spelling.]

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ence of England from Roman jurisdiction. The vindication of this liberty, while it was only a reassertion of what previous kings had contended for, carried with it a final separation from Rome—excommunication on the part of the pontiff, and, incidentally, cruel oppression and spoliation of the Church on the part of the king. As for the divorce question, it is only necessary to say that, so far as any principle was involved, the point at issue was not whether the marriage of Arthur and Katharine had been consummated, which was an *ex post facto* justification of the papal dispensation, but whether the Pope had power to override the moral law. That he assumed such power is clearly proved by the wording of the Bull (January 7, 1504), *carnali copulâ forsan consummavissetis*, which assumed the possibility, if not the probability, that the marriage had been consummated; and it is no less clear that Henry was willing to admit such dispensing power as long as it suited his purpose, conscientious scruples being unheard of till the hope of an heir male from Katharine was gone. "It is extraordinary," says Dr. Brewer, "how Henry's scruples of conscience coincided so nicely with his inclinations." The divorce, or rather the declaration of Archbishop Cranmer that the marriage was null and void, took place on May 23, 1533; the judicial confirmation [1] of Henry's union with Anne Boleyn followed five days after.[2] The Pope immediately pronounced Cranmer's decision null, and threatened excommunication, and ten months after (March 23, 1534) issued a contrary decree, affirming the validity of the marriage with Katharine.[3] But the ecclesiastical legislation which made Cranmer's action possible had already by implication declared war against the Pope's jurisdiction. To make the decision of any national court *final* was, as Dr. Brewer [4] says, to concede the principle of the Reformation; and this had been already done.

The Reformation Parliament, which met in November,

[1] So Dixon, i. 162. Not remarriage, as Perry, p. 81.

[2] For date of Henry's private marriage with Anne, see Perry, p. 65; Burke, i. p. 258, etc.

[3] See the form in Perry, p. 66.

[4] ii. 455.

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1529, was packed with the creatures of the king, and offers a glaring contrast to the manly and independent attitude adopted by Convocation.[1] Its anti-clerical character is admitted—it was a Parliament for enormities of clergy. Amongst the rejected Bills of its first session was found a Bill suggesting the revival of a proposal of the Unlearned Parliament of Henry IV. (1410) to secularize all Church property, and another to make all possessions, except those of the barons, to be held in fee simple. The question was also proposed (whether discussed or not) as to "whether the pulling down of all the abbies be lawful and good or no."[2]

We have traced already some of the causes of ill-feeling of the laity against the Church. But other causes were at work which are worth noticing.

(i.) The old nobility had perished in the civil wars, and the new men were all in favour of innovation and an attack on the property of corporations.

(ii.) Lollardy and its communistic and socialistic principles had largely affected the mass of the people. The attack on property was, however, veiled by a pretended desire for the purity of the Church, though the attack on ecclesiastical corporations implied an attack on property generally. During this reign every attack on private property was repelled, every attack on Church property allowed;[3] but Bishop Fisher in his spirited protest in the House of Lords,[4] and Wolsey in his dying words, truly saw the drift of things.[5] Fisher boldly said that he feared it was the "goods, not the good of the Church," that was desired, and the consequence he foresaw was that "all obedience would be first drawn from the clergy and afterwards from the State."[6]

(iii.) The fall and death of Wolsey, the declining power and age of Warham and Fisher, coincided with the almost simultaneous rise to power of Thomas Cranmer and Thomas Cromwell. Hitherto the attacks of a tyrannical king had

[1] Perry, p. 67; Dixon, i. 11 and 23.
[2] Dixon, i. 2, note.
[3] Dixon, i. 40.
[4] Perry, p. 70.
[5] See Dixon, i. 56, f.n.
[6] Perry, p. 70.

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been met by a Lanfranc, an Anselm, a Becket, a Langton, and such like primates; but now England and her Church were to be abandoned by her metropolitan. It seemed as if "the world, the flesh, and the devil" were leagued together in the new triumvirate—*Henry*, "who never spared man in his anger or woman in his lust;" *Crumwell*, "the worst enemy the Church of England ever had;"[1] and *Cranmer*, the weak, vacillating Cranmer, the slave of Henry, then of Somerset, the Erastian in Church politics, secretly perhaps a Lutheran, or at least a Reformer, and yet willing to acquiesce in the Six Articles, provided his own marriage was winked at and protected by the king.[2]

If the Church of England gained, as it did gain, by the separation from Rome, it was at a grievous loss of liberty. Another such victory must have ruined it.[3] Yet the separation from Rome made possible all those reforms which the Church had long been anxious for, and which Convocation was actually at work upon when its legislative power was violently taken away.

The first session of the Reformation Parliament lasted six weeks. The lay[4] lord chancellor, Sir Thos. More, had succeeded Wolsey; a new Speaker, the dexterous but unscrupulous Sir Thos. Audley, had taken More's place in the House of Commons. In the six weeks' session three Bills were passed for remedying abuses in the Church; these were the Acts about *probates*, *mortuaries*, and *pluralities*. All these touched real abuses, yet Fisher recognized in them a part of that anti-Church legislation which, beginning by an attack on abuses, was soon to attack the Church in her constitutional liberties. The temporal lords, however, deserted the spiritual; and after the Bills had been modified by a conference of Lords and Commons, they became law, December 17, 1529 (21 Hen. VIII. c. 5; 21 Hen. VIII. c. 6; 21 Hen. VIII. c. 13).

[1] Dixon, i. 46. [2] See Dixon, i. 154–157.

[3] See Froude's monstrous assertion, "History," i. 188, ap. Perry, p. 67.

[4] Not the first, for, at the request of the Commons, in Edward III.'s reign, 1371, William of Wykeham resigned the chancellorship into lay hands (see Green's "History," i. 463); [Bishop Stubbs' "Constitutional History," ii. 422].

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The *Probate Act* enacted that when the property of the deceased was under 100*s*., no fee should be charged; when above 100*s*. and under £40, 3*s*. 6*d*.; and above this, 5*s*.

The *Mortuaries Act*[1] forbad fees in kind, and fixed a regular schedule. On goods under 10 marks no mortuary was allowed; on goods between 10 marks and £30, 3*s*. 4*d*. allowed; £30 to £40, 6*s*. 8*d*.; above £40, 10*s*. Where the fees had been less than this the Act was not to alter them.

The *Pluralities and non-residence* Act, though opposed by the clergy, would have been a real gain to the Church and the people if it had not been followed by legislation which left few benefices capable, when held alone, of sustaining an incumbent. By this statute any one holding a benefice of £8 or upwards vacated it by accepting another; *a papal dispensation for holding more benefices than thus allowed subjected the receiver to a fine of* £20 *and the profits of the benefices.* There were, however, remarkable exceptions made in favour of the lawgivers. All ecclesiastics, being members of the king's council, might hold three livings; chaplains of the nobility, bishops, and officers of the royal household might hold two, the same privilege being granted to graduates in divinity; while the king's chaplains may accept as many benefices as the king may give.

This Act against non-residence and pluralities was a direct blow at the Roman power in England, though it was only the supplement to the great Provisors and Præmunire Statutes, as depriving the Pope of that power which he had so long used of dispensing with the Constitutions of the National Church;[2] but the former statutes attacked abuses which were already in part reformed, and would have been completely removed had not the legislative authority of Wolsey overridden the salutary measures of Archbishop Warham.

The vigorous protest against these first infringements of ecclesiastical liberty which Bishop Fisher offered in the

[1] Mortuaries—"soul scot" or "corse presents"—are offerings due to the parish priest. Payment enforced as early as King Canute. Amount determined by custom (Hook, vi. 385).

[2] See Constt. of Ottobon, Peckham and others in Gibson's "Codex."

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House of Lords was supplemented by the manly protest of Convocation, which was at that very time engaged on reformation of abuses. (Convocation of the Southern Province met November 5, 1529. That of the Province of York, probably owing to Wolsey's fall, held no session.) They demanded that their ancient rights should be observed, that offences against the Statute of Præmunire should be defined, and a writ under it not issued from a king's court against any ecclesiastic without a previous prohibition. They complained of the three statutes passed in the present session, and declared that Parliament was in danger of sin in limiting clerical liberties without the consent of the Church.[1] This protest took the form of a petition from the Lower House to the Upper; it never seems to have gone further. Probably the way in which Bishop Fisher's remonstrance had been received showed the Upper House that it was useless to repeat it.

LECTURE IX.

THE REFORMATION PARLIAMENT, 1529–1536—THE CLERGY UNDER PRÆMUNIRE, 1530—LEGISLATION OF 1531.

[The following scattered notes, dated 1887, appear at the head of Lecture IX.]

1. Heresy Commission.
2. New phase of divorce question.
3. Enforcement of Præmunire Statute.

In 1530 the divorce in its second stage. Consultation of universities. Cranmer's first appearance.[2]

(i.) Is prohibition of marriage with deceased brother's wife part of the *moral* law?

(ii.) As a matter of fact was it a marriage or a *betrothal* only?

Tyndale and his views[3]; his socialism.

[1] Dixon, i. 31, 32. [2] Hook, vi. 436–438. [3] Dixon, i. 37, 38.

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Cranmer's treatment of the divorce *v.* Wolsey's.[1]
This view stated in Henry's letter.[2]

The king's divorce and the consultation of the universities filled people's minds in the following year, while the king was engaged in heretic-hunting by a commission, which published an *Index expurgatorius*, including most of the books forbidden by the proclamation of 1529 (which followed on Warham's inquiry). The king himself was present at an informal session of the Southern Convocation, held on May 14. The works of *Wicliffe, Knox, Luther, Zwingle*, and the English heretics, *Fish, Tyndale*, etc., were forbidden, and at the same time an authorized translation of the Bible "*by great learned and Catholic persons*" was promised, if thought desirable. The commissioners in this matter declared that they all acted freely and unanimously, though on December 1 of the same year Latimer repudiated his part.[3]

[The following notes on the reference of the divorce question to the universities occur in the note-book of one of Mr. Moore's pupils, though not in his original manuscript.]

The putting of the divorce matter before the universities is not to be attributed to Cranmer. It was proposed before Cranmer rose to influence. The phase connected with Cranmer is a later one, viz. that which defended the finality of the English courts.[4] The questions at issue were—

(*a.*) *Of right.* Can the Pope override the moral law? Roman theologians of that day would have said no.

(*b.*) *Of fact.* i. Is marriage with a deceased brother's wife part of the moral law? Could the Pope allow it? This was the real point at issue. ii. Was the marriage of Arthur and Katharine a real one at all, or was it only a betrothal? This was a later claim, an argument advanced by Katharine when she saw the validity of the union with Henry questioned.

[1] Hook's "Cranmer," 371. [2] Ap. Hook, *ibid.* 372.
[3] See Dixon, i. 43-45. [4] See Hook's "Life of Cranmer," p. 371.

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When Julius II. granted the dispensation for Katharine to marry Henry the question had not arisen, and, if it had, would not have been considered.

Universities, largely on the side of the queen, answered (*b*) i. very guardedly. Cambridge said, "No, if it was a real marriage consummated." Oxford determined similarly. The decisions abstract and did not help Henry much.

Up to this time the question of dispensing with an appeal to Rome altogether was not dreamt of. Only attempted at present to bring moral influence of universities to bear on Pope, so that he might reverse decision of his predecessor Julius. But Cranmer carries the matter a stage farther. Cranmer's earlier position (at his meeting with Gardiner at Waltham) was, "If it could be proved that it is against divine law for a man to marry his deceased brother's wife, and if it could be proved as a matter of fact that Katharine had been Arthur's wife, then there seemed to be no need for an appeal to Rome at all."

Cranmer soon found himself called on to stand by the position. The king makes him chaplain. Result of his treatise was to show that the king's marriage with his deceased brother's wife was not merely voidable, but void. But even at this point there was no idea of ignoring the Pope. Cranmer was to carry this view to the Pope, and it was hoped the Pope might acquiesce, and be saved humiliation of revoking Julius' dispensation. Cranmer made Penitentiary of England on his visit to the Pope, an office (*a*) very lucrative, (*b*) which made the holder the channel of papal dispensations, etc.

In December, 1530, after frequent prorogations of Parliament and Convocation, the mine which Crumwell[1] had been preparing against the Church was sprung. Wolsey had died on the last day but one of the preceding month, his last words

[1] On what Crumwell was and had been, and his relation to Wolsey, see Dixon, i. 46, 47; [see also Green's "Hist. of England," ii. 143, 144, and particularly Brewer's "English Studies," pp. 303-343].

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showing his true forecast of what was coming. Crumwell is said to have told the king that England was a monster with two heads; in fact, that the Roman obedience implied *imperium in imperio.* The terrible Statute of Præmunire was employed to bring home to the clergy their treasonable conduct. All were implicated in Wolsey's crime, though he was acting by patent given under the Great Seal. All the clergy were guilty, and by consequence the laity too, but most of all the king, whose direct appeal to Rome in the divorce matter, as well as his complicity in Wolsey's legatine acts, made him the worst of traitors.

The traitors of the Southern Province, whose lives and property were now in Henry's hand,[1] met in solemn synod on January 21, 1531, by special permission of the exempt Abbot of Westminster, in the chapter house of the Abbey. They knew their king well enough, as Wolsey did, to attempt no defence, and granted a subsidy of £100,044 8*s.* 8*d.*; the Province of York, on May 4, granting £18,840 0*s.* 10*d.*—a sum altogether nearly equal to £2,000,000 of our money.

This, however, did not satisfy Henry. Pardon was refused until certain admissions were made. These admissions were put to Convocation on February 7, in the form of five propositions, and it bears witness to the uprightness and honesty of the clergy, that they, who had readily voted away their money for the king's use, refused to betray the trust committed to them. The articles to be subscribed were as follows[2]:—

1. The king is the only Protector and Supreme Head of the Church and clergy of England.

[1] The application of Præmunire to Wolsey due to—

(i.) Personal pique against Wolsey (fostered by the Boleyn faction, and brought to a point by the revocation of the cause to Rome).

(ii.) The desire to assert independence of the Pope, now that nothing could be hoped from him.

The application of Præmunire to clergy and laity—

(i.) A first step to a reign of terror.

(ii.) A means of getting money.

Probably, not primarily with a view to a home settlement of the divorce.

[These rough pencil notes formed part of Mr. Moore's lectures in 1887, and are printed where they stand in his manuscript, and in the note-book of a pupil.]

[2] See Dixon, i. p. 63, for the Latin text.

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2. Cure of souls is committed to him.
3. The king defends only those rights of the Church which derogate not from his royal power and the laws of his kingdom.
4. The acceptance of pardon under the Præmunire Statute.
5. A proviso that laymen (*e.g.* patrons during a vacancy) should pay their share of the subsidy.

For several sittings these articles were discussed, and the result was that all but the last were modified. The third was expunged; the fourth made it clear that the pardon was for clerics only (thus reminding the Commons that they too were guilty of treason); the second was altered to state that the king had the cure of the souls of the people committed to him; and the first, modified by Warham, recognized the king as "*Ecclesiæ et cleri Anglicani singularem protectorem, unicum et supremum Dominum, et, quantum per Christi leges licet, etiam Supremum Caput.*"[1] The Northern Province went even further—Bishop Tunstall objecting to the Supremacy thus modified; and the king himself wrote to explain that he meant no intrusion into the sacerdotal functions.[2]

The Commons, however, were terrified to find that they too were traitors under "præmunire," and refused the proposed Bill for the pardon of the clergy, abjectly begging for pardon for themselves. The king answered them roughly, and the pardon of the clergy of the Southern Province was granted (22 Hen. VIII. c. 15). Then the king, "of his benignity, special grace, pity, and liberality," vouchsafed to give a free pardon to the laity in a separate Bill (22 Hen. VIII. c. 16). So obsequious were they after this escape, that the king chose the opportunity (March 30) for causing the lord chancellor to read the opinions of the universities recently extorted. The clergy of York were pardoned in the next session (23 Hen. VIII. c. 19).

[1] See Dixon, i. 64, 65. [The various formal acts by which the clergy recognized the Royal Supremacy have been conveniently collected by Bishop Stubbs in the "Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," i. 70–73.]

[2] In the commission appointing Crumwell his vicar-general, the king carefully avoided all possibility of misconstruction (Dixon, i. 243, note). For Warham's position as to the Supremacy question, see Hook, vi. 416.

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LECTURE X.

THE REFORMATION PARLIAMENT, 1529–1536—EVENTS OF 1532.

So far king and Commons had acted harmoniously against the Church. In the January of the next year, 1532, the Commons renewed the attack by presenting their "Supplication against the Ordinaries." The king, however, had a little Bill of his own which he wished passed at once. This was a Bill (of Wards) sent down from the Lords for legalizing the extortions of the Lords in the case of the infancy or premature marriage of wards. But the Commons rejected the Bill.[1] The Convocation had submitted to extortion, but fought for principles; the Commons cared nothing for principles, but a great deal for their purses. Parliament was prorogued till Easter, after which the breach between them and the king seems to have been forgotten, and the "Supplication against the Ordinaries" was again brought forward.

This Supplication[2] attacked two things:

(i.) The right of Convocation to make spiritual laws;

(ii.) The abuses of ecclesiastical courts, fees, etc.—what had been among the "Grievances" of 1529;

and concluded with a protest against the proceedings of the Ordinaries against "heretics." As far as the "abuses" were concerned, they were nearly all of them removed by previous statutes and by the action of Convocation itself, but they made a good cover for the real attack, which was upon the spiritual freedom of the Church, and her power to make her own canons. Convocation at the very time was at work on canons which, though they never became law, offer a striking comment on the Supplication of the Commons.[3]

This accusation was received in Convocation, April 12,

[1] Dixon, i. 75.

[2] See "Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," i. 33, 88–90.

[3] See Dixon, i. 87, quote.

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1532, with a request that it might be immediately answered. After several answers conceived in the Lower House had been read in the Upper, one corrected by Bishop Gardiner of Winchester was approved by both Houses, and sent [to the king on April 27, who on April 30 sent it on] to the Commons. It was a noble protest in favour of the constitutional liberties of the Church, which it had enjoyed from immemorial antiquity; stating that Scripture was the fountain of all law, ecclesiastical and civil, and therefore both should be in perfect accord. They could not submit the making of their laws to the king; and as to the vague accusation that their canons were against the royal prerogative, they appealed with confidence to be judged by God's law, and besought the king, as "the defender of Christ's faith in name, and hitherto, in fact, its special protector," to follow the steps of his most noble progenitors, and preserve the rights of the Church.[1] The king pronounced this answer "very slender," and a second answer was demanded. The Bishop of London was now acting for the infirm Archbishop Warham. The second answer was returned on May 8, and was in the same spirit as the first, appealing to the king's own book against Luther.[2] They were willing to reconsider any laws said to be contrary to the royal prerogative; they consent to publish and put forth no constitutions or ordinances as binding on the king's lay subjects without the royal consent, except what concerned the faith and the reformation of sin. Farther than this they could not go.

This second answer was not more favourably received than the first, and on May 10 Fox, the almoner, brought *three articles* to be signed by all. This was the king's ultimatum. Parliament was prorogued on the 14th, Convocation on the 15th, yet between the 10th and 15th the articles were hotly debated; but the matter became a dispute between king and clergy, not between Commons and Convocation. The three articles proposed were:—

(i.) No constitution or ordinance to be hereafter enacted, promulged, or executed, without the king's approval.

[1] See Dixon, i. 95, etc.   [2] *Ibid.*, i. 100.

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(ii.) Divers provincial constitutions, supposed to be against the royal prerogative, to be submitted to a committee of thirty-two — sixteen from Parliament, sixteen from the clergy.

(iii.) That all other of the said constitutions should be in force, the king's assent being given.[1]

After a hot debate, the three articles were reduced to two, and made up the *Submission of the Clergy.*

(i.) The clergy promise *in verbo sacerdotii* to enact, etc., no *new* canons or constitutions without the king's writ summoning Convocation.

(ii.) They submit to the king and a commission of thirty-two—sixteen from the temporalty, and sixteen from the spiritualty—a review of existing canons thought to be prejudicial to the prerogative royal, or burdensome to the king's subjects.

This finally amended schedule was signed by the major part of the clergy on May 15, and presented to the king on the next day by Archbishop Warham, attended by those who had led the opposition. Two years later, this Submission of the Clergy was confirmed by Act of Parliament, though in an altered form.

On the day on which the Submission was signed, Sir Thomas More resigned the Great Seal. Archbishop Warham died on August 23. His part in the Submission seems to have broken his heart. He was now over eighty years of age, and left on record, as the last instrument of an English primate who died legate of the see of Rome, a protest against all statutes in diminution of papal power or ecclesiastical liberties.[2]

It is hardly necessary to say that the Submission of the Clergy promised only to make no *new* constitutions; all the old canons were to be in force except those found by the

[1] [See the text in the "Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," i. 92.] A deputation was sent to the aged Fisher, Bishop of Rochester, who advised the Convocation to stand out boldly against at least the third article (Perry, p. 78).

[2] Dixon, i. 143.

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commission of thirty-two,[1] under the king, to be against the royal prerogative, and *this commission, though appointed more than once, never produced anything but the "Reformatio legum Ecclesiasticorum,"* which never became law.

In this session of Parliament the Act already mentioned, limiting *benefit of clergy* (23 Hen. VIII. c. 1), and enacting that convict clerks breaking prison should be treated as felons (23 Hen. VIII. c. 11), had been passed, [as well as] a *Mortmain Statute*, "the well-tuned prelude of spoliation"[2] (23 Hen. VIII. c. 10),[3] and a rider to the Probate Act of 1529, which ordained that no person should be summoned in a spiritual court out of the diocese in which he lived (23 Hen. VIII. c. 9). But far the most important Act, as showing the feeling of the Church and State towards the Roman pontiff, was the Act for *the Restraint of Annates* (23 Hen. VIII. c. 20). This had preceded the Submission, and is specially remarkable because, while it cut away one of the cables which bound England to Rome, it was *the Church's own doing*. The clergy petitioned the king against this intolerable burden, which was itself contrary to the Pope's own laws against simony, and had been condemned by the Council of Basle, 1435. They prayed him "to cause these exactions to cease for ever by Act of his High Court of Parliament, and if the Pope made process against the realm or refused the bulls till the annates were paid, the king is prayed to follow the example of the French king (mad Charles VI.), and withdraw the nation from obedience to Rome." The petition chimed in well with the feelings of the king and the nation. The cases of the Bishops of York and Winchester, who had been obliged to borrow money to pay for their bulls, were related in both Houses,[4] and it was stated in the preamble of the Act (23 Hen. VIII. c. 20), which was immediately passed, that as much as £160,000 had been paid since the second year of

[1] Cranmer's "Collection of tenets from Canon Law" (see "Remains," p. 68) may have been notes for the commission, but quære date.

[2] Dixon, i. 136.

[3] [This statute limited to twenty years the duration of "uses," the method by which the mortmain laws were commonly evaded.]

[4] Dixon, i. 137, and note.

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Henry VII., and, in some cases, the friends of those who had been promoted and died within two or three years had been ruined by these annates. Since then the age and infirmity of many prelates (*e.g.* Fisher and Warham) made it probable that other such exactions would be made, it was enacted that this payment of annates shall cease altogether, with the exception of five per cent. to be paid for bulls, etc.[1] If the Pope refused on these terms to send his bulls, the consecration was to proceed without them. If the kingdom was laid under interdict, it was to be disregarded. The Act declares that the king and "all his natural subjects, as well Spiritual as Temporal, been (= are) as obedient, devout, Catholick and humble children of God and Holy Church, as any People be within any Realm christened," but the exaction of annates is "importable," and the estates of the realm refuse to pay it, and forbid payment under pain of forfeiture. This Act, however, is not to become law till the king has tried to compound with Rome; failing which, he is to declare this a statute by letters patent. This confirmation took place in the July of the following year, 1533, the king's agents in Rome having meanwhile thrown dust in the eyes of the pontiff.[2]

LECTURE XI.

THE REFORMATION PARLIAMENT, 1529–1536—THE SEPARATION FROM ROME, 1533, 1534.

HITHERTO ecclesiastical legislation (from the earliest Statute against Provisors to the recent Act against Annates) had only limited the power of the Pope in England, and this last Act had openly professed the orthodoxy of the English Church. But the great Act of April, 1533, *destroyed the Pope's power*

[1] Yet Cranmer's bulls cost six thousand ducats, and his first-fruits amounted to ten thousand more (Perry, 79).

[2] For the text of the Act, see Gibson, "Codex," p. 122, [and "Report of Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," i. 210–213]. For the foreign history of this Act, see Dixon, i. 140, *sqq.*

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altogether. Looked at as the culmination of a long series of Acts, it only asserted the historical independence of the English Church and nation; but, looked at in its immediate causes, it is one of the grossest acts of injustice ever perpetrated. The queen had appealed to Rome, therefore appeals were to be made illegal; Cranmer was now ready to give a decision in the king's favour, therefore the Archbishop of Canterbury (the see being vacant by Warham's death in the preceding August) is to have no spiritual superior who can reverse his judgment.

We shall find both the ecclesiastical legislation and the debates in Convocation in this year bearing directly on the king's matter.

(i.) First came the great *Act for Restraint of Appeals* (24 Hen. VIII. c. 12).[1] It was the consummation of all previous Præmunire Acts, the open and almost defiant vindication of national independence, and final abolition of the Pope's appellate jurisdiction. It asserted the imperial character of England, the temporalty and the spiritualty being under the king, with implied equality with the Emperor of the West and the Basileus of the East. And with this the ecclesiastical division agreed, Anselm being *papa alterius orbis;* in other words, England was a patriarchate owning the primacy, but not the supremacy of Rome.[2] But while the empire is so far symmetrically divided into temporalty and spiritualty, and the laws of previous kings against papal encroachments are cited, it is an indication of the drift of legislation that while the "judges and ministers" of the temporalty are spoken of, the corresponding officers of the spiritualty (*i.e.* the Ordinaries) are ignored. The Submission of the Clergy made in the previous year, and in the next year to be embodied in an Act of Parliament, was already assumed to have put a stop to all the constitutional machinery of the Church. "This memorable declaration of the independence of the English Church was made at the very time when her ancient liberties were being taken away."[3]

[1] [See text in the "Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," i. 213–216.]
[2] Dixon, i. 148, f.n.
[3] *Ibid.*, i. 150.

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(ii.) Yet, as though in mockery, at the very time when this Bill was passing through Parliament, Convocation was asked to decide on the king's matter. They were divided into jurists, or canonists, and theologians.[1] The theologians were to decide whether the Pope could dispense with the Levitical law; the jurists, whether the marriage was complete. The debates lasted from March 26 to April 5. On April 1 Cranmer for the first time took his seat as archbishop. Few such rapid appointments had been made.[2] Cranmer, who was abroad on the king's business when he was appointed, had received from the Pope the office of Grand Penitentiary of England[3] as a retaining fee. He was loth to take the archbishopric, either because he was of a retiring disposition, or because some scruples of conscience made him shrink from a position in which he must be either false to the Pope and violate his oath, or abandon the position he had taken in the king's matter at the risk of his life. He eventually threw himself into the hands of the king. Eleven bulls were expedited at a great cost from Rome,[4] and he was consecrated on March 30. The difficulty of the oath he got over by making previously a public statement which in effect nullified the oath itself. The interests and claims of the Pope and king being now perfectly opposed, he promised obedience to Rome and support to papal claims (omitting certain clauses from the usual form), and in his oath to the king he made additions which sufficiently show his servility and dishonesty.[5]

(iii.) Convocation having by a majority of both provinces declared as the king wished, and the Act of Restraint of Appeals being now passed, Cranmer, in the plenitude of his archiepiscopal powers, proceeded to try the queen (May 10).[6]

[1] Dixon, i. 150.
[2] J. J. Blunt cites six instances, p. 123.
[3] Dixon, i. 156.
[4] Of Cranmer's bulls applied for by Henry in January, the first eight bear date February 21, the ninth February 22, the tenth and eleventh March 2, 1533.
[5] See the oaths compared in Dixon, i. 158, 159, and especially Cranmer's "Remains," p. 216.
[6] Two letters were written by Cranmer to Henry, asking leave to try the

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The marriage was pronounced null and void on May 23, and the previous marriage of the king with Anne Boleyn was confirmed within the week. The Pope in vain pronounced this decision null. All appeals to him were forbidden under penalty of Præmunire, and while the king stood cited to appear at Rome by proxy, he first appealed from a Pope to a General Council, June 29 (as did Cranmer later, November 22[1]), and in December appealed to the bishops as to whether a General Council was not superior to a Pope. The answer in favour of the paramount authority of Councils was signed not only by Cranmer, but by Fisher, Clark, and West, who had opposed the annulling of the marriage.[2] The king's appeal to a General Council was published,[3] and though he was now meditating a league with the Lutheran princes, he protested that he meant to say and do nothing against the Holy Catholic Church and the authority of the Apostolic See in any way that might be inconsistent with the duty of a good and Catholic prince.[4] With a servile archbishop and a still more servile Parliament, a Convocation robbed of its independence, and a people under a reign of terror, the king now proceeded to complete the breach he had begun. The last attempt of Rome to preserve England in her allegiance by the mission of Bellay, Bishop of Paris, was, as far as Henry was concerned, a solemn farce. Intentional or accidental delays caused that the Pope's decision was given (March 23, 1534) while negotiations were still pending. Nineteen out of twenty-two cardinals voted against the king.[5] But Henry's mind had been made up long before this, and from the time Parliament

matter. Both, strangely enough, are dated April 11, 1533. (For these letters and the king's answer see Cranmer's "Remains," pp. 237–239.) The case was tried at Dunstable, May 10. On May 12 Cranmer writes to Henry (*ibid.*, p. 241) stating that he has pronounced Katharine *vere et manifeste contumacem.* On the 17th he writes that sentence is to be given on the following Friday (*ibid.*, p. 242), and on the 23rd writes that the sentence is pronounced (*ibid.*, p. 243). For the sentence see *ibid.*, p. 243.

[1] See Cranmer's letters to Bonner at Rome, November 22, 1533 (Cranmer's "Remains," p. 268). Bonner was Henry's agent with the Pope.

[2] See Dixon, i. 174, f.n., and Collier, Records No. xxxvii.

[3] Rymer, "Foed.," xiv. 476.

[4] Dixon, i. 175.

[5] *Ibid.*, i. 180.

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met, January 15, 1534, and during the negotiations of Bellay, a series of anti-papal Acts was being passed which made peace with Rome impossible. Previous to these *benefit of clergy* had been still further limited, or rather an evasion of the statute by silence was rendered impossible (25 Hen. VIII. c. 3), and an important *Heresy Act*, probably suggested by the burning of John Frith,[1] had been passed (25 Hen. VIII. c. 14). This Act repealed the cruel provisions of 2 Hen. IV. c. 15, but confirmed and put in force two old statutes, both of which brought the secular arm to help the Ordinaries. This measure was a real relief to the Ordinaries, but how far it was a real mitigation may be inferred from the passing of the Six Articles Law five years afterwards.

The Benefit of Clergy and Heresy Acts were followed by three statutes which finally separated England from Rome:—

(i.) 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19. Submission of Clergy and Restraint of Appeals.

(ii.) 25 Hen. VIII. c. 20. Restraint of Annates.

(iii.) 25 Hen. VIII. c. 21. An Act rendering Peter Pence and all papal dispensations illegal.

All these were passed in the session between January 15 and March 30, 1534. The last session of Convocation, March 31, discussed and suspended till further orders the "General Sentence," or curse, read four times a year.[2]

(i.) The first (25 Hen. VIII. c. 19) confirmed the great Statute of *Appeals* passed in the preceding year, and embodied in an Act the Submission previously wrung from Convocation. With the terrible penalty of Præmunire hanging over their heads, it was no wonder if the clergy were in

[1] [The following words occur here in the notes taken by one of Mr. Moore's pupils. See, too, Dixon, i. 167, 168]:—John Frith burnt (July 4, 1533), not for denial of Transubstantiation, but for a principle (not denial of or substitution of any doctrine)—a protest against making a belief in Transubstantiation necessary to salvation. Distinction between—

(*a*) Real Presence as a great truth.

(*b*) Real Presence held in a form carrying with it the old philosophic theory of substance and accident, *i.e.* Transubstantiation depends on Aristotelian metaphysic. Modern metaphysic revolts from this theory of substance and accident. Difficulty of a modern Romanist if he is a philosopher too.

[2] See Cranmer's "Remains," pp. 281, 282.

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bodily fear from this time, not knowing when a debate might be held to be treason.[1] [From a pupil's note-book.] Complement of Submission of Clergy claimed was revision of the Canon Law to make it in accordance with royal prerogative, *i.e.* to make clear which canon is and which is not contrary to the law of the realm. Henry VIII. found it to his advantage to keep his revision in check, so as to have the clergy always in terror.

(ii.) *The Restraint of Annates* Act (25 Hen. VIII. c. 20) not only confirmed the previous Act, which had been left inoperative for a time till the king failed to "compound with" the Pope, but also allowed no exceptions in favour of bulls of consecration, etc. With regard to the election of bishops and archbishops, the last relic of freedom was destroyed, except in the formal *congé d'élire*, this being henceforward accompanied by a "letter missive," absolutely determining the name of the person to be nominated. In the Act it is stated that the licence to elect shall be sent, "as of old time hath been accustomed," with a letter missive, etc. That kings in earlier days since the *congé d'élire* of John (1214) had made the election a farce, possibly by letter missive, is true enough, but the making this letter part of the statute, and the enactment that the king's nominee is to be elected and "none other," limited the freedom of election to the choice between appointing the king's nominee or incurring a Præmunire, and there were no Beckets or Langtons or Grossetestes to brave the alternative. In the Parliament which passed this Act, more than half (fourteen out of twenty-six) the abbots were away, and only seven bishops were present.[2]

(iii.) One more Act (25 Hen. VIII. c. 21), concerning *Peter Pence and Dispensations*, discharged England finally from all financial relations with the Roman see. All licences, dispensations, faculties, etc., in a word, all the "spiritualities" which the Pope had granted, with certain exceptions as to

[1] Text in Gibson, p. 975, [or in the "Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," i. 216, 217; cf. i. 34].

[2] Gibson, pp. 126–129, [or "Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," i. 218–220].

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illegal dispensations (*i.e.* those contrary to the Divine or moral law), were transferred to the Archbishop of Canterbury. There was also one notable exception of ominous meaning. All exempt abbeys and monasteries were placed at the mercy of the king. They were not to be "visited or vexed" by the archbishop or the ordinary. This was to rest with the Supreme Head of the Church and those whom he should appoint, *i.e.* Crumwell and his crew, Legh, Leghton, Ap Rice, Bedyl, etc. Yet even this Act declares (s. 19) that "the king does not intend to decline or vary from the congregation of Christ's Church in any things concerning the very articles of the Catholick faith of Christendom, or in any other things declared by Holy Scripture and the Word of God necessary for salvation."[1]

Every one of these three great Acts was two-edged. The *Restraint of Appeals* carried with it the denial of the immemorial right of the Church to frame her own canons and constitutions. The *Restraint of Annates* was accompanied by a tyrannical destruction of her free right, secured by Magna Charta, to elect to bishoprics. The *Act against Peter Pence and Dispensations* also threw the exempt monasteries immediately, and the rest by implication, into the hands of the king and his menials.[2] Yet Froude says, "*The records of the world contain no instance of such a triumph, bought at a cost so slight, and tarnished with blemishes so trifling.*"[3] In the next session the annates restrained from the Pope were made payable to the king (26 Hen. VIII. c. 3); and every life in the realm was imperilled by the disgraceful Acts of Supremacy and Verbal Treason (26 Hen. VIII. c. 1; 26 Hen. VIII. c. 13).

[1] Gibson, pp. 102, 103.

[2] See a Romanist book, Mr. Hubert Burke's "Historical Portraits of Reformation History," chap. xxv., Rupture with Rome.

[3] Froude, "Hist.," i. 188; apud Perry, p. 67.

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LECTURE XII.

THE ROYAL SUPREMACY.

THE remaining acts of the Reformation Parliament fall most conveniently under the two heads of the Royal Supremacy and the Suppression of the Monasteries.

I. THE ROYAL SUPREMACY.[1]

Under this head we must include the Acts of Succession and the Treasons Act, for the king's divorce had become the connecting link between any disagreement with Henry's will and crime against the State. To say a word in favour of the Pope, even by monks whose rules included obedience to the Bishop of Rome, was treason. To speak against Anne Boleyn or for Katharine was also treason. The question of the succession had come to coincide at this phase with the question at issue between Pope and king. The pretext for legislation on this matter was the fact that a poor epileptic, named Elizabeth Barton,[2] had been turned by two monks into a prophetess, and brought her masters (Masters and Bocking) much gain by visions, etc. Unfortunately these took a political turn, and she was attainted by Act of Parliament (25 Hen. VIII. c. 12) in the spring session of 1534, and was executed on May 5, 1534, at Tyburn, with her accomplices, Masters, Bocking, Rich, Rysby, Dering, and Gold. Bishop Fisher, whose attitude in the divorce question had made him suspected, was included in the attainder. More had a narrow escape. The aged Fisher plainly vindicated himself from all complicity, but had to pay a fine of £300.[3]

[1] Perry, chap. vii.

[2] The Holy Maid of Kent (Gasquet, i. 111–115, chap. iv.). In 1525 Elizabeth Barton was domestic servant to a farmer called Cobb at Aldington, twelve miles from Canterbury. She afterwards entered a convent. Bishop Fisher had conceived a great opinion of the holiness of this woman.

[3] For the Nun of Kent, see "Suppression of Monasteries," letters vi.–xiii.; Cranmer's letters, Nos. lxxxi.–iii. and lxxxix., in his "Remains."

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Before the execution of the fanatic and her accomplices, the uneasy mind of Henry determined on an Act of Succession, which was passed in the spring of 1534. It was the second Act of the kind in the history of England, the first being 7 Hen. IV. c. 2. The Act (25 Hen. VIII. c. 22) not only regulated the succession in favour of Anne Boleyn, but entered into details on the divorce question which many loyal subjects could not assent to. The Act was to be proclaimed in all the shires of England; all persons were to be sworn to execute the contents of the Act on pain of misprision of treason. No oath was prescribed, but the king's letters patent contained the form of an oath and appointed a commission.[1] The oath was taken by the two Houses of Parliament on the day of their prorogation. Fisher and More refused the oath. They would swear to the Succession, but not to the preamble of the Act, and both were illegally sent to the Tower.

Meanwhile, between the prorogation of Parliament on March 30 and its reassembling on November 3, the oath was being administered. The clergy were sworn in the same terms as the Houses of Parliament, but a stricter oath was required from the religious orders. It seemed as if they were being provoked into a line of conduct which might bring them under Præmunire. The universities and the two Convocations were called upon to declare that the Bishop of Rome had no greater jurisdiction in the realm of England than any other bishop. The Southern Province assented on March 31. The Province of York, being more scrupulous or less loyal, had the question proposed in the modified form, Whether the Roman bishop has in the Holy Scriptures, etc.?—a point they easily decided on May 5, 1534. Cambridge on May 2, Oxford on June 27, also assented. The clergy were ordered to preach the Royal Supremacy, and the justices were charged to watch them. Meanwhile More and Fisher continued in the Tower, resisting all attempts to move them from their resolution;[2]

[1] See the former, Dixon, i. 205, f.n.

[2] Sir Thomas More refused the oath April 13, 1534, and was committed to the custody of the Abbot of Westminster. On April 17 he again refused, and was (illegally) sent to the Tower. Bishop Fisher tried June 17, executed June 22, 1535; Sir Thomas More tried July 1, 1535, executed July 6, 1535.

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while Cranmer found the king no less inflexible when he attempted to persuade him to allow of an oath to the Succession without the preamble.[1] Meanwhile the various monasteries and priories were being sworn, and in only three instances was resistance attempted. These were—(i.) the Observant Friars of Greenwich; (ii.) the London Charterhouse; and (iii.) the Brigittines of Sion in Brentford.[2]

(1) *The Friars Observant*, or reformed Franciscans, were implicated, like every one else, in the affair of the Nun of Kent; but their uncompromising attitude towards the royal divorce was their real fault. The Richmond brothers were tricked into yielding, but those of Greenwich refused. It was against the rule of St. Francis, and in that rule they would die. The suppression of the whole Order followed; the Observants were expelled and Augustinians placed in their priory. Many were imprisoned, fifty of whom died in confinement, and the rest were banished and fled to France and Scotland.

(2) *The Carthusians* were noted for their strict lives, their poverty, and charity; but when interrogated they defended the rights of Holy Church. They ultimately submitted (June 6, 1534), and were spared for a time.

(3) *The Brigittines* (Augustinian Order, 1363) had but one English foundation, viz. at Sion in Brentford. They were visited in July and frequently till December, when they too were persuaded or forced to submit.

Meanwhile Parliament had met again on November 3. Its first act was to declare the king "the only Supreme Head on earth of the Church of England, called Ecclesia Anglicana." The pretext for such an act was, that it was "for increase of virtue in Christ's religion," and to "repress and extirp all errors, heresies, and other enormities." It was stated in the Act (26 Hen. VIII. c. 1) that the title had been recognized by the clergy in their Convocations, and therefore the Act was

[1] Cranmer, "Remains," cv.

[2] See "Letters on the Suppression of the Monasteries," xiv.; "Charterhouse," xv.; "Richmond Observants," xvi.–xviii., Sion; and see Dixon, i. 213, *sqq.*; and Burke, "Carthusians," p. 282; "Observants of Greenwich," p. 377.

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only declaratory, though the limitation under which the clergy had accepted the title, viz. *quantum per Christi leges licet*, was omitted. It professed to add nothing new, and did add nothing new, except *the title*, to the Supremacy of the Crown.[1] But it was to have a new meaning read into it. Similarly *the right of visitation* claimed by the Act already belonged to the king as supreme ordinary, and he could exercise it at any time through his spiritual officers; but this declaration, like the former, was made with a terrible intention. The king already saw his way to the spoliation of the monasteries, but he chose to do it under the forms of law.

Similarly, by the second Act of this session (26 Hen. VIII. c. 2), Henry attempted to legalize, or, at least, to cover his illegal action in, the imprisonment of Fisher and More. The oath they had refused had never been prescribed by statute, and More was strictly within the law when he offered to swear to the Succession, but not to the preamble. This *second Act of Succession* prescribed the oath which had been already administered, and asserted that this was the oath intended by the statute of the last session. The climax of tyranny was reached when *"divers offences" were made high treason by Act of Parliament* (26 Hen. VIII. c. 13); "verbal offences" were made treason, no less than the seizing of the king's fortresses and ships. As the Act of Submission had, in effect, undone the work of Magna Charta, which declared the freedom of the Church, so this Act undid the great law of 25 Edw. III. st. 5, c. 2, which had reduced the crime of treason to certain specific acts. The new Treasons Act was to come into effect on February 1. An Act by which *the first-fruits recovered from the Pope were transferred to the Crown* (26 Hen. VIII.

[1] [From a pupil's notebook.]

See a passage in the "Institution of a Christian Man," 1537 (chapter on the Sacrament of Holy Orders), for a statement of what was and what was not meant by the Royal Supremacy.

Royal Supremacy did claim the right of Visitation with (*a*) regulative, (*b*) modifying power; and also to be the source of jurisdiction. King in England claims to be source, but by it means not the giving of the power, but limiting it, *i.e.* guarding, by State authority, bishop in performance of his office from the interference of any other (see J. H. Blunt, vol. ii. p. 38).

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c. 3) was also passed, and another naming twenty-six towns for the sees of *suffragan bishops*;[1] and the session closed with *two Acts of attainder against Fisher and More* (26 Hen. VIII. cc. 22, 23). Everything was now ready for the judicial murder of the aged bishop and the ex-lord chancellor, and the judicial confiscation of the monasteries. For if they accepted the Act of Supreme-Head and took the oath to the Succession, and even declared that the Pope had no more power than any other bishop in England, "verbal treason" or "malicious silence" could always be proved against them, and the result was always the same.

LECTURE XIII.

THE ROYAL SUPREMACY AND THE CHANGED RELATIONS OF CHURCH AND STATE.

PROBABLY the first act of the Supreme Head was to put his headship into commission. The appointment, early in 1535, of *Crumwell as vicar-general* swept away the last remaining liberties of the English Church. For, in the first place, it distinctly subordinated the spiritualty to a layman; and, secondly, the visitation for which the vicar-general was appointed was to have a new meaning.[2] Visitation no longer meant an inquiry as to how far a religious body obeyed its laws; it gave absolute power to the visitor to reform or destroy the community, according to certain rules known only to himself. We shall see more of this when we come to speak of the suppression of the monasteries.

The new Acts passed at the close of the last year furnished a pretext for *revisiting the monasteries* which had already taken the oath of succession. In April it was signified to *Prior Houghton*, of the London Charterhouse, that the convent was to submit again. Two other priors of the order—*Robert*

[1] See the list, 26 Hen. VIII. c. 14; Dixon, i. 232.

[2] See Perry, p. 120; and see, too, summary of the document, Dixon, i. 245.

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Lawrence, of Belleval or Beauval, in Nottinghamshire, and *Augustine Webster*, of Axholme, in Lincolnshire—had come to the London house; and the house, after consulting together, waited on Crumwell to explain their objections to the title of Supreme Head, and to offer themselves for their brethren. Crumwell sent them at once to the Tower, where he "visited" them. They still refused the oath, and were tried at Westminster, with Reynolds the Brigittine (a friend of Pole's), and, on April 29, found guilty of high treason. They were executed at Tyburn on May 4, and mutilated according to custom, the arm of Prior Houghton being fixed over the gate of his priory. Three other brethren of the London Charterhouse, when Bedyll, Crumwell's underling, visited it, were tried by the commission which condemned Bishop Fisher, and were found guilty and executed on June 19.[1] *Fisher and More*, who had been in prison more than a year, were condemned under the Acts of the last session, though not without difficulty and treachery, and executed, Fisher on June 22, More on July 6. Fisher, while a prisoner in the Tower, had, on May 21, been *made a cardinal* by the new Pope, Paul III., and the king is said to have remarked when he heard it that the bishop must wear the red hat on his shoulders, for by the time it came he would have no head to wear it on.

Before passing on to the organized system of spoliation which falls under the head of the suppression of the monasteries, it will be useful to review the change which had taken place from the pre-Reformation relationship of Church and State in England.

As far as the Acts of the Reformation Parliament had been directed against Rome they were strictly, as we have seen, a vindication of the historical and constitutional independence of the Church of any foreign power, temporal or spiritual. Yet even when the Archbishop of Canterbury had exchanged his title of "*sedis apostolicæ legatus*" for "*metropolitanus*," and appeals and payments of all kinds to the Pope were made illegal, the *primacy* of the Bishop of Rome seems

[1] Dixon, i. 269, sqq.

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not to have been questioned, and schism with Rome was certainly not included in Henry's scheme.

But the throwing off of papal domination made some reconstruction necessary in the relations of Church and State. Had a Lanfranc been archbishop, even with Henry VIII. on the throne, things might have oscillated back to something like their true position; but with Cranmer in the see of Canterbury the rights of the Church meant as much or as little as the tyrant king would allow. He was "a king with a Pope in his belly."[1]

As far as money matters were concerned, the king, with Parliament to give a show of legality to his acts, could do what he pleased. From a purely State point of view all property can, at the will of the nation, be diverted from its present owners and its original purpose. If the property so seized be dedicated to God, the seizure is an act of sacrilege, though it may be protected by the forms of law. If the property so seized be the property of individual or lay corporations, the seizure of it is nothing more nor less than a revolution. Henry was wise enough to see that while a revolutionary attack on private property, or the property of laymen, was impossible, the Parliament was ready enough to make the Church a scape-goat, though it was at the price of sacrilege. Hence, beginning with, on the whole, salutary reforms in the three Acts of Probate, Mortuaries, and Pluralities (21 Hen. VIII. cc. 5, 6, 13), the Parliament rapidly proceeded to a new Mortmain Act (Act of Uses and Feoffments, 23 Hen. VIII. c. 10), then to the transfer to the king of the newly recovered annates (26 Hen. VIII. c. 3), then to the suppression of the smaller monasteries (27 Hen. VIII. c. 28), and then to the dissolution, in 1539, of all monasteries whatsoever.

It is obvious that, on any principle of equity, the ecclesiastical property, if misapplied, should have been readjusted, and the first step in such readjustment would have been an act of restitution to the impoverished seculars, while the iniquitous payment of annates should have been restrained altogether. Any payments which were in themselves equit-

[1] Amos, p. 283.

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able, obviously, when payments to Rome were forbidden, belonged in equity to the Archbishop of Canterbury.

When we come to the miserable trick by which the nation was brought under Præmunire we are almost prepared for the still more disgraceful Acts of Succession and Verbal Treason. To state that the king was Supreme Head over all persons, ecclesiastical as well as civil, was to claim no more than a constitutional right which had never been lost, though sometimes encroached upon. To entitle him Supreme Head of the Church of England was to invent a new title with an ominous sound. Neither this nor the Acts of Succession, nor the Verbal Treason Act, were intended to be applied rigorously to the laity. It was only a new application of the Præmunire to rob the Church of her liberties, and ecclesiastical corporations of their property.

Two Acts of Parliament, both in direct defiance of Magna Charta, robbed the Church of her immemorial rights—*1st, the Act of Submission* (25 *Hen. VIII. c.* 19), whereby the Church was compelled to renounce her freedom of legislation; and *2nd, the Act* (25 *Hen. VIII. c.* 20) whereby her right to elect her own officers was violently taken from her, though the formal *congé d'élire* was left as a witness to the tyranny of the Act. The appointment of Crumwell as vicar-general, with power to supersede the jurisdiction of bishops, and with more than papal power to pull down and to destroy, only showed how thoroughly Henry had become the enemy of the Church, and the Erastian Cranmer had submitted the spiritualty to the temporalty. With Crumwell as minister of the religious department of the State, the old theoretical balance of spiritualty and temporalty under the king disappears, at least for the time; and Convocation, the national synod, becomes a Parliament which may still talk, but cannot act. When, at the expense of the Church, the State had been bribed into still more absolute subserviency, the king was able to override the constitutional liberties of all, and set a royal proclamation on a level with an Act of Parliament (31 Hen. VIII. c. 8 (1539)).

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LECTURE XIV.

THE NEW COURT OF FINAL APPEAL AND ITS SUBSEQUENT HISTORY.

[This subject was inserted in the course, as is specially noted by Mr. Moore, in 1888, and the lecture exists only in the following fragmentary shape, a few phrases being added to the original manuscript from a pupil's note-book.]

As a matter of history, not modern controversy.

To understand 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19, we must remember—

(*a*) It was an anti-papal Act.

(β) It claimed to be in strict accordance with previous legislation.

The eighth Constitution of Clarendon orders[1] [that appeals could go up from archdeacon to bishop, archbishop, and then for lack of justice to the king, by whose order the case is to be finally tried in the archbishop's court, no further appeal being allowed without the king's licence].

In strict accordance with this was Henry VIII.'s statute.[2]

All cases of lack of justice go on appeal to the king in Chancery, *i.e.* Court of Delegates. [Previously, under 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12, the Upper House of Convocation was the court of appeal in causes touching the king.]

What was the intention of the Act?

(i.) It forbade appeals to Rome, and it was mainly in matrimonial and testamentary cases that the Curia exercised appellate jurisdiction.

[1] [Bishop Stubbs' "Select Charters," p. 139: "De appellationibus si emerserint, ab archidiacono debent procedere ad episcopum, ab episcopo ad archiepiscopum. Et si archiepiscopus defecerit in justitia exhibenda, ad dominum regem perveniendum est postremo, ut præcepto ipsius in curia archiepiscopi controversia terminetur, ita quod non debet ulterius procedere absque assensu domini regis."]

[2] [See the text in the Report of the "Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," i. 217.]

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(ii.) The immediate application of the Act was to matrimonial questions. Under it the king got his divorce from Katharine, Anne Boleyn, and Anne of Cleves.

(iii.) The Act, when revived by 1 Eliz. c. 1, shows that matrimonial questions were mainly in view. Cf. the Act.

Court of Delegates and its powers.[1]

It was a court *ad hoc*, and, as such, existed till 1832, *i.e.* for 298 years, less Mary's reign; the Delegates from the first apparently including laymen, the questions being mainly questions for the lawyers of Doctors' Commons to decide.

It was distinctly a *court of appeal*, and could not entertain appeals from the High Commission Court, which, while it existed (1558–1641), drew to itself all the more important questions.

Its powers were *full and final:* subject, however, to a *Commission of Review.* Commissions of Review forbidden by 2 & 3 Will. IV. c. 92.

The *Reformatio Legum*, which is important as interpreting the spirit of this legislation, requires that in a grave case the matter should be referred to a provincial synod or to three or four bishops.[2]

Actual constitution of Court of Delegates.[3]

The tendency was gradually to oust the bishops and appoint judges and civilians, especially after the Commonwealth.

In the last century of its existence the selection of delegates became very slack. Court of Delegates abolished by 2 & 3 Will. IV. c. 92, and Privy Council substituted. Powers given to the Judicial Committee of Privy Council by 3 & 4 Will. IV. c. 41. By the Clergy Discipline Act, 1840, at least one of the bishops, being members of the Privy Council, must

[1] See Bishop Stubbs in the Report of the "Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," i. 46, *sqq.*

[2] Ref. Leg. p. 302.

[3] See Bishop Stubbs' account, p. 47, col. 2.

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be present at the hearing of an ecclesiastical case, under that Act, before the Judicial Committee; but this was repealed by the Judicature Amendment Act, 1876, by which episcopal assessors are appointed according to a fixed rota.

Questions dealt with:

The Court of Delegates had the right by Act to deal with all subjects dealt with in the Provincial court, but—

(i.) No change in the subject matter of appeal is noted in 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19.

(ii.) Before Reformation the appeal to Rome, which 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19 abolished, practically did not exist in matters of *doctrine and ritual*.[1]

(iii.) Elizabeth's statute set up the Court of High Commission, from which there was no appeal.

(iv.) No appeal as to doctrine can be shown to have been carried from the ecclesiastical courts to the Court of Delegates.[2]

(v.) In no case is the Court of Delegates known to have reversed a decision of the ecclesiastical courts in matters of doctrine.[3]

(vi.) The transfer of the functions of the Court of Delegates to the Judicial Committee was not meant to create a new court, and was not meant to deal with doctrine.[4]

[1] Bishop Stubbs, p. 51, col. 1, *sub fin.*
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 51, col. 2.
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 49.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 48, col. 2, Brougham's view.

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LECTURE XV.

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE MONASTERIES.

It is commonly taken for granted that Wolsey's suppression of certain monasteries, and diversion of their revenues to the foundation of Cardinal College, suggested to Henry VIII. the act of spoliation for which he had now long been preparing. But, as matter of fact, neither the action of the king nor that of Wolsey was without precedent. The Pope had always assumed the power of suppressing an order and transferring its revenues to some other ecclesiastical corporation, while the kings had always looked with longing eyes upon these mines of wealth, and where they had not dared actually to appropriate their revenues, had secured enforced grants under fear of suppression.

It is interesting to notice by the statistics of different reigns how completely public feeling had turned against monasteries long before Henry VIII.'s time.

At the Conquest there seems to have been about 330 religious houses.[1] The Conqueror's reign witnessed the founding

[1] The following dates may be useful:—

MONKS.

Benedictines (or Black Monks), founded *circa* 529 by St. Benedict of Nursia (480–543).

First monastery at Monte Cassino in Campania.

First in England, at Canterbury, by St. Augustine (597–604).

Cluniacs, reformed Benedictines, founded by Odo of Cluny, 912.

First house in England, Lewes, 1077.

Carthusians, founded near Grenoble, in 1084, by Bruno.

First house in England, Witham (Somerset), 1181.

Cistercians (or White Monks), founded at Citeaux in Burgundy, 1098.

St. Bernard of Clairvaux reformed them, *circa* 1116.

First house in England, Waverley, 1128.

CANONS REGULAR.

Austin, constituted an order, 1061.

First house in England, St. Gregory's, Canterbury, *circa* 1075.

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of 45 more; 25 were founded in the reign of William II., 150 under Henry I., 122 under Stephen, 124 under Henry II., 44 under Richard I., and 62 under John. In the reign of Henry III. came the four orders of Friars, 83 friaries being founded as against 74 monasteries. In the next reign there were 61 friaries and only 16 monasteries; under Edward II. 20 friaries and only 5 monasteries; under Edward III. 24 friaries and 7 monasteries; and under Richard II. 4 friaries and 4 monasteries. Thus, since the Conquest, 678 *monasteries* had been founded and 192 *friaries*. The Friars mostly settled in the towns, the monks in the country. By this time not only were the Mortmain and Præmunire Statutes in force, but there was, on the part of the laity, a great jealousy of the wealth of the religious houses. The monastic system had gradually developed till the reign of Stephen, when monasteries were being founded at the rate of six a year, and then as gradually declined. The Friars who entered England in Henry III.'s reign rapidly deteriorated, and fell into the same state as the

Præmonstratensian (White Canons), founded in 1120 by St. Norbert, at Prémontré, near Laon.

First house in England, Newhouse, 1147.

MILITARY ORDERS FOLLOWING THE RULE OF ST. AUSTIN.

Hospitallers of St. John of Jerusalem (Knights of Malta), founded 1048.

First house in England, St. John's, Clerkenwell, 1103.

Templars, founded 1118; suppressed by Council of Vienne, 1312.

First house in England, Temple, 1185.

FRIARS, limited to four orders by Council of Lyons, 1272.

Dominicans (Black Friars, or Preachers, or Jacobins), founded 1215 by the Spaniard St. Dominic (1170–1221).

First house in England, Oxford, 1221.

Franciscans (Grey Friars or Friars Minor), founded 1209 by St. Francis of Assisi (1182–1226).

First house in England, Canterbury, 1224.

Austin Friars (or Friars Eremite), finally organized, 1256.

First house in England, Woodhouse, 1250.

Carmelites (or White Friars), reformed 1205, and confirmed by the Pope 1224.

First house in England, Alnwick, 1240.

[The characteristics of the two great orders of monks, of one of the great orders of Friars, and of the chief post-Reformation order, the Jesuits, are summed up in the following distich:—

Bernardus valles, montes Benedictus amabat,
Oppida Franciscus, celebres Ignatius urbes.]

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monasteries they professed to reform. (Their average rose to nearly two houses a year up to the end of Edward II.'s reign, after which it rapidly decreased.) From the accession of Henry IV. to the date of the suppression, the tide of munificence set in the direction of colleges, hospitals, and schools, sixty of which were founded in the fifteenth century, while only eight religious houses were founded during the same period.[1] The best days of monks and Friars were long past, and the wisest ecclesiastics of the day, Fisher and Wolsey, like William of Wykeham and Waynflete before them, saw that the Church needed to keep pace with the New Learning.

[1] STATISTICS OF RELIGIOUS FOUNDATIONS IN ENGLAND.

(See Dixon, i. 319, note, who takes the figures from Tanner.)

Before the Conquest about 330 religious houses had been founded.

Reign.	Began.	Years of Reign.	Monasteries.	Friaries.	Average yearly.	Yearly Average for Century.
William I.	1066	21	45	..	$2\frac{1}{21}$	
William II.	1087	13	25	..	2 almost	
Henry I.	1100	35	150	..	$4\frac{2}{7}$	12th century, 440 monasteries. Average, $4\frac{2}{5}$ per annum.
Stephen	1135	19	122	..	$6\frac{8}{19}$	
Henry II.	1154	35	124	..	$3\frac{19}{35}$	
Richard I.	1189	10	44	..	$4\frac{2}{5}$	
John	1199	17	62	..	$3\frac{11}{17}$	13th century, 152 monasteries, 144 friaries — 296 Average, nearly 3 a yr.
Henry III.	1216	56	74	83	M. $1\frac{18}{56}$, $1\frac{1}{2}$ F. Total, 3 nearly	
Edward I.	1272	35	16	61	M. $\frac{1}{2}$, $1\frac{3}{4}$ F. Total, $2\frac{1}{4}$	
Edward II.	1307	20	5	20	M. $\frac{1}{4}$, 1 F. Total, $1\frac{1}{4}$	14th century, 16 monasteries 48 friaries — 64 Average, less than 1 per ann.
Edward III.	1327	50	7	24	M. $\frac{1}{7}$, $\frac{1}{2}$ F. Total, $\frac{3}{5}$	
Richard II.	1377	22	4	4	M. $\frac{1}{5}$, $\frac{1}{5}$ F. Total, $\frac{1}{3}$ +	
Henry IV.	1399	Fifteenth century— 8 religious houses, 60 schools, hospitals, etc.				
Henry V.	1413					
Henry VI.	1422					
Edward IV.	1461					
Edward V.	1483					
Richard III.	1483					
Henry VII.	1485					

[Before fifteenth century, 870 houses, of which 192 were friaries. Besides these 870, there were founded before 1400, 78 colleges and 192 hospitals.]

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Hence the munificence of the Lady Margaret was directed by her confessor to the founding of professorships at the universities instead of the endowment of a monastery, and Wolsey's procedure was actuated by the same wise recognition of the fact that monasticism was worn out, and was in danger of being violently assailed. Before Henry IV. there were some 78 colleges in existence, and 192 hospitals. At the time of the Reformation, the total number of both was 330.

But of the 1200 to 1300 monasteries and friaries which altogether had been established in England, only about half remained for Henry to seize. The first which were exposed to attack were the *alien* priories, *i.e.* the cells which owned as their superior some great house on the Continent.[1] These, as being affiliated to some foreign monastery, were naturally looked upon by the king with suspicion. Consequently we find King John seizing the revenues of all the alien priories, eighty-one in number, and King Edward I. (1285) and King Edward III. (1337) following his example. By Henry V.'s time these alien priories, which had considerably increased in number (122), were all finally suppressed and sold to the laity (1414).

The *Templars*, again, with their twenty-three houses or preceptories,[2] were seized by Edward II., on the suppression of the order by Pope Clement V. (Council of Vienne, 1311–1312), but afterwards by papal bull and Act of Parliament these were transferred to the Hospitallers, who, however, were compelled to resign the greater part to the king and lords, in the hope of being allowed to keep the rest.

Many of the smaller houses had been overwhelmed by debt, and became the property of private purchasers, while the larger ones accumulated wealth by appropriating tithes, and

[1] Alien priories were the result of the Norman Conquest. They paid a yearly tribute, *apportus* or acknowledgment, to the foreign mother house (Gasquet, i. 41). They were 100 to 150 in number, and included many aliens. During Edward III.'s reign, 1327–1377, £2000 (= £60,000 a year, present value), was sent to Cluny.

During the French wars the alien priories were seized, and for fear of foreign spies all houses removed twenty miles from the coast (Gasquet, i. 43).

[2] See Scott's "Ivanhoe."

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serving the livings either by an underpaid vicar or by one of their own order. An attempt to remedy this abuse is seen in a statute passed in Richard II.'s reign (15 Ric. II. c. 6 (1392)), which provided that the vicar be "well and sufficiently endowed" and not removable at will, while under the first of the Lancastrian kings it was enacted (4 Hen. IV. c. 12) that vicarages should only be held by secular clergy. But it was more than the remedying of abuses in the distribution of ecclesiastical funds which was thought of under the Lancastrian kings. The clergy were alarmed by notices that all Church lands would be claimed by the State, and though Henry IV. assured them that he wanted only their prayers and not their money, they deemed it safer to make large grants of money for the king's use. Under Henry IV. a Bill was introduced (1410), praying for the secularization of Church property, which it was said would maintain for the king's honour and defence 15 earls, 150 knights, 6200 esquires, and 100 almshouses, with a surplus of £20,000 for the royal coffers.[1] The suppression of the alien priories[2] was, however, all that was done in this direction, the king's attention being in good time diverted (by Archbishop Chicheley) to the conquest of France.

In 1524 Wolsey obtained two bulls allowing him, subject to the consent of the king and the founder's representatives, to suppress forty of the smaller monasteries (of which twenty-four were actually suppressed), and to transfer their revenues to Cardinal College. These smaller houses, especially if alien or in any other way exempt from episcopal visitation, were a constant cause of difficulty. They became burdened with debt and fell into ruins, their inmates illiterate; in fact, as Wolsey said of them, "neither God was served, nor religion kept" in them. Archbishop Chicheley had previously received permission to transfer the revenues of some of the smaller houses to All Souls' College; Waynflete did the same for Magdalen as Wykeham for St. Mary Winton or New

[1] Southey, pp. 236, 237; [Bishop Stubbs, "Constitutional History," iii. 64; Gasquet, i. 52].

[2] See protests of continental houses against suppression of their English cells (Gasquet, i. 59, 60).

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College;[1] but Wolsey's agent in this suppression was Thomas Crumwell, who is said to have carried out the work with great corruption, waste, and abomination.[2]

Four years after Wolsey's suppression of monasteries appeared Simon Fish's work, "The Supplication of Beggars" (1528), with its grotesque misrepresentation of the wealth of the monasteries. Starting with the assumption that there were 52,000 parishes in England (on which Sir Thomas More remarks, "That is one plain lie to begin with"), it argues that each parish has on an average ten households, each household gave one penny per quarter to each of the five mendicant orders, and the result is that £430,333 6*s.* 8*d.* is given annually to the Friars alone. How much more wealth is stored up in the old monasteries? There is a curious arithmetical mistake in this sum, which turns 43,000 into 430,000, and considerably strengthens the case; but the "Valor Ecclesiasticus," or State return of ecclesiastical and monastic property, including the universities, which was made in 1535, gave the entire revenue of the spiritualty as £320,280 10*s.*, of which about one-half was monastic. But the wealth of the monasteries was believed to be far greater than it was, and the visits of royal commissioners to administer the oath of Supremacy and Succession had probably suggested the possibility of adapting Wolsey's plan to the needs of the royal exchequer. At all events, the appointment of Thomas Crumwell to be vice-gerent, vicar-general, and official principal, with power to exercise all

[1] Wykeham suppressed (1379) priories of Takeley in Essex and Hamell in Hants for New College, priory of Andover for Winchester College.

Chicheley (1437) suppressed five for All Souls'.

Henry VI. endowed Eton, and King's College, Cambridge, with lands of dissolved monasteries.

Waynflete (1458) founded Magdalen College, Oxford, and augmented it in 1474 with the house of Sele (Sussex); 1484–1487, with the Augustinian Priory of Selborne (Hants).

[Similarly Jesus, Christ's, and St. John's, Cambridge, and Brasenose, Oxford. See Blunt, i. 363, note].

Tendency to give suppressed monasteries to colleges, *e.g.* Jesus and Christ's and St. John's.

See a curious draft of a bull in Gasquet, i. 66.

Extraordinary visitatorial powers given to Wolsey (Gasquet, i. 71).

[2] Dixon, i. 322.

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manner of jurisdiction, authority, or power ecclesiastical which belongs to the Supreme Head, and also with licence to visit or appoint visitors as he may think fit,[1] seems to have been made with a definite intent—that of seizing some, if not all, of the monastic property under cover of a reformation of abuses. The suspension of the power of the bishops[2] immediately followed, and their authority was restored to them under the royal licence. The Erastianism of the instrument by which this was done can hardly be surpassed.[3]

LECTURE XVI.

THE GENERAL VISITATION OF THE MONASTERIES.

THE Visitation lasted three years, 1535–1538, which were divided into three periods by the Act of Suppression of Small Monasteries in February, 1536, and the Pilgrimage of Grace in the winter of the same year.

Before, however, the general visitation began, Layton was sent to Oxford, Legh to Cambridge. The work of Layton, September, 1535, may be seen in his letter.[4] Legh at Cambridge had less to do.[5]

The GENERAL VISITATION could not have begun before October, 1535, yet, between that time and the February of the following year, sufficient evidence was collected to enable Parliament to pass a Bill granting to the king all monasteries of the annual value of £200 and under. There is, however, a glaring discrepancy between the wording of the preamble of the Act (27 Hen. VIII. c. 28) and the facts recorded in the commissioners' letters.[6] The first county visited was KENT,

[1] See the instrument in Perry, p. 119.

[2] This was suggested by Legh and Ap Rice. See letter of September 24 (Strype, "Ecclesiastical Memorials," vol. i. part ii. pp. 144–146).

[3] See Perry, p. 119. See, too, Crumwell's commission (Dixon, i. 245). As to the wealth of the monasteries in Edward I.'s reign and Henry's, see Dixon, i. 249.

[4] Wright's "Suppression," letter xxx.

[5] See Dixon, i. 304.

[6] See the preamble quoted in Perry, p. 139, and Wright, p. 107.

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Layton and Bedyl being the commissioners[1]—Langdon, Dover, and Folkestone [Langdon was Præmonstratensian, Dover and Folkestone Benedictine],[2] Christchurch (Canterbury),[3] and Faversham, where the aged abbot refuses to resign.[4] Davington Priory, dilapidated and in ruins.

Bedyl succeeds Legh in Cambridgeshire; Layton and Legh go north. Bedyl writes from Ramsey, January 15, 1536.[5] Legh takes Huntingdon, Lincolnshire, and perhaps Chester; Layton, Bedfordshire, Northamptonshire, and Leicestershire. Sundry immoralities were discovered or alleged. Legh and Layton met at Lichfield, December 22; visited Trent and Southwell.[6] York and its archbishop were visited on January 11;[7] St. Mary's, York, Fountains, and Whitby.[8] The next month they visited Merton (Augustinian) and Hornby (Præmonstratensian), and obtained their surrender.

Parliament met on February 4, 1536, and a digest of the reports of the visitors was made. This Black Book was destroyed, either by the papists in Mary's reign, or, more likely, by its authors, when it had done its work. Two manuscripts of Comperta, however, exist. These are themselves apparently summaries, not confessions, and deal with the revenues as well as the morals of the monasteries.[9] In the spring Parliament the Act of Suppression (27 Hen. VIII. c. 28) was passed, covering retrospectively the previous suppressions.

Reviewing the statement and the evidence, we find that the Black Book charged two-thirds of the religious with the foulest crimes,[10] while the letters of the visitors in no way justify this statement. Cases of immorality, lax discipline, worldliness, or superstition, were no doubt brought forward; many of the monasteries were burdened with debt, or falling into ruin, and many of the professed caught at the opportunity of returning to the world. The distinction between the greater and smaller monasteries was unreal as far as morality

[1] See letter xl. [2] See, too, letter xxxiii., and Dixon, i. 326, 327.
[3] Letter of Christopher Levins, xli. [4] Letter xlviii.
[5] Letter xlvi. [6] See letter xlii. [7] Letter xliv. [8] Letter xlvii.
[9] See Dixon on the Comperta, i. 348, etc. [10] Wright, p. 114.

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was concerned, and some openly asserted that the little monasteries "were as thorns, but the great abbots were putrefied oaks, and they must needs follow."[1] Yet the Act[2] clearly drew such a distinction between great and small, and so *disarmed the opposition of the mitred abbots*, who fancied that the smaller monasteries might be sacrificed to save the greater. But the king and the nation were too logical to stop midway, and the suppression of the monastic system was a certainty from the time the Act was passed which gave the smaller houses to the king.

From the passing of the Act for the suppression of the smaller monasteries (376 houses suppressed = £32,000 per annum) in February, 1536, we find the Vicar-General besieged by two classes of applicants—laymen and others who were greedy for the abbey lands, and abbots and abbesses who wrote hoping that the good order and morals of their houses would entitle them to the exemption specified in the Act. Of the 376 monasteries which came under the Act, 31 were refounded in the August of 1536, viz. 15 abbeys and 16 nunneries, which were founded "*in perpetuam eleemosynam*,"[3] but shared the fate of the rest in the general suppression three years later.

To receive the spoil a special Court of Augmentations was founded, and a large number of private Acts were at once passed for the exchange of lands for the convenience of the king. The Bishop of Norwich being just dead, Dr. Rugg was appointed,[4] who surrendered to the king all the estates of the see, except the palace and the cathedral. Among the petitions for a part of the Church property are those of Sir Peter Edgecumbe[5] and Lord Delawarr,[6] both of which were granted. Humphrey Stafford[7] was unsuccessful. The Archbishop of Canterbury also appears humbly praying for like favours.[8] In place of the former visitors, Legh, Layton, and Co., *mixed commissions* were appointed, and the result is remarkable. They find everything in good order, the monasteries doing much "to the relief of the king's people."[9] Of

[1] Wright, p. 107. [2] *Ibid.* [3] Dixon, i. 365, note.
[4] See *ibid.*, i. 367. [5] Wright, li. [6] Letter lii.
[7] Letter liv. [8] See letters clxx., clxxix. [9] Wright, lviii.

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only *one* house was any evil reported[1] in the three counties of Leicester, Warwick, and Rutland, while for many the commissioners themselves petitioned that they might be spared,[2] and even Latimer does the same in the case of Great Malvern Priory.[3] On the other side there is nothing to be set, except a case of suspected coining at Walsingham,[4] sundry "superstitions"[5] at Buxton Baths and Bury St. Edmund's, and certain disorders at Bodmin[6] and the Benedictine abbey at Pershore.[7] Monks who had been pressed to return to the world in some cases consented, against the will of their superior, and indemnified themselves for the breach of their vow by revealing enormities within their society.[8] But the commissioners were far less successful than Legh and Layton, and the king openly accused them of being bribed—a charge which Giffard indignantly denies in his letter[9] to his master, now Lord Crumwell. (Crumwell raised to the peerage, July 9, 1536.) The old visitors now appear again, and collectors are appointed for the several archdeaconries, to take inventories, receive or take the convent seal, and dissolve the house.[10] It is calculated that by the suppression of the smaller monasteries alone, ten thousand persons were thrown on the world. The method of visitation pursued was much the same. The religious were laid under new restrictions, beyond that which their rule imposed, and their life was made a burden. Hence the surrender of monasteries not included in the Act became common, and the Court of Augmentations received the spoil, till even Cranmer took fright.[11]

The May of this year witnessed the trial and execution (May 19) of Anne Boleyn. The archbishop's cruel desertion of her cause[12] prepares us for the sentence in which he declared the marriage "null and void."[13]

On June 8 a new Parliament met, and with it (June 9) a

[1] See *Home and Foreign Review*, January, 1864, ap. Dixon, i. 370, f.n.
[2] See letters, Wright, lviii.; Northamptonshire, lxii., lxiv.
[3] Letter lxxi. [4] Letter lxiii. [5] Letters lxvi., lxvii.
[6] Letter lix. [7] Letter lx. [8] See especially letter lx.
[9] Letter lxii. [10] See Richard Strete's letter, lxii., Wright.
[11] See Cranmer's letter, clxxii.
[12] See letter clxxiv. [13] See Dixon, i. 390.

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new Convocation,[1] which opened with the Mass of the Holy Ghost, followed by a great sermon from Latimer against abuses in the Church. At the next session of Convocation (June 16) the archbishop was superseded, as chairman, by Dr. Petre as deputy vicar-general, Crumwell himself presiding on the 21st, when the king's marriage with Anne was pronounced null by the House. A protestation against errors and abuses was soon followed by the first English Confession of Faith, commonly known as the Ten Articles, which were designed to "stablish Christian quietness," and to reassure men who feared that England was about to accept the Augsburg Confession.

The immediate consequence of the suppression of the monasteries was the rebellion in the north. The rebellion began (October) in Lincolnshire on the suppression of a small Cistercian nunnery, the prioress of which had in vain prayed Crumwell for exemption from the Act, on the ground of the good order, morals, and hospitality of the house.[2] The Lincolnshire rising was hardly subdued when a still more formidable one took place in Yorkshire.[3] Gentry, clergy, and commons were banded together in the "Pilgrimage of Grace" under Robert Aske. A proclamation was issued, to which were appended the demands already made by the Lincolnshire insurgents. The grounds of complaint alleged were: (i.) The suppression of religious houses; (ii.) The Statute of Uses;[4] (iii.) The fifteenth granted to the king; (iv.) The men

[1] Ten Articles (July 11, 1536) in Convocation. Limiting of holy days. Rejection of Roman primacy, and repudiation of Mantuan Council.

[2] Wright, p. 116.

[3] See Perry, ch. ix. and note A.; Dixon, vol. i. pp. 456 *sqq.*; Hume, vol. iv. ch. xxxi.; and Hubert Burke, ch. xxxix.

[4] [This statute, 27 Hen. VIII. c. 10 (1536), was passed to secure the grantees of monastic lands, replacing the equitable (*i.e.* protected by the Court of Chancery only) title of the monks by a common law one. But as the statute put an end to "uses" (grant to A. to the use of B.), recognized only at equity, and the only way in which wills of real property could be made, there was a great outcry against it, and the Pilgrimage of Grace has been called the "Younger Sons' Crusade," as their prospects were much damaged by the prohibition of wills of realty. Hence another statute, 32 Henry VIII. c. 1 (1540), had to be passed, whereby a man could leave by will all his lands held by socage or non-military tenure, and two-thirds of those held by knight service. It was not till 12 Charles

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of low birth, such as Crumwell and Rich, in the king's council; (v.) The exaction of tenths and first-fruits of the Crown; (vi.) The promotion of reforming bishops. The insurgents, numbering thirty thousand, carried a banner with the Five Wounds, the chalice, and the Host. The king addressed them more mildly than the rebels of Lincolnshire, and by promises and negotiations time was wasted, till the enthusiasm was past and the army of pilgrims dispersed. Nothing beyond vain promises were given in answer to the demands. A futile attempt to renew the insurrection in the beginning of 1537 gave Henry a pretext for violating all his agreements, and ordering his general "to cause such dreadful execution to be done upon a good number of every town, village, and hamlet, that have offended, that they may be a fearful spectacle to all others hereafter."[1] Some time after this rebellion was crushed in March, 1537, a son (later King Edward VI.) was born, on October 12, to Henry, his wife, Jane Seymour, dying soon after (October 24).

The Pilgrimage of Grace was the pretext for *a new visitation* of monasteries, which, whether small or great, were now doomed. During the years 1537 and 1538 many monasteries were discovered or asserted to have been implicated in the rebellion; twelve abbots were hanged, drawn, and quartered; others, by promises and threats, were tempted to make a voluntary resignation. The people were incited against the religious houses by stories of the evil lives of monks and priors, or by an exposure of some alleged religious impostures.[2] St. Thomas of Canterbury, whose shrine was the richest in England, and a standing witness to the triumph of Pope over king, was cited to appear and show cause why he should not be pronounced a false saint, his goods being forfeited to the State. His tomb was rifled on August 19, 1538, twenty-six cartloads of treasure being carried away. Then rapidly followed the suppression of other houses, covered at the close

II. c. 24 turned knight service into socage that all lands—not being entailed—could be freely devised.]

[1] State Papers, i. 538, ap. Dixon, i. 480, f.n.

[2] Dixon, ii. 48 *sqq.*, 53, 56, 65. See Hume, ii. 221, 222.

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of the session of 1539 by an Act of Parliament, 31 Hen. VIII. c. 13 (May, 1539), which devoted all monastic property to the king.[1]

At beginning of the Reformation Parliament the House of Lords consisted of—temporal peers, 44; spiritual, 48 (bishops, 18; guardians of spiritualties, 2; abbots and priors, 28). When the Act suppressing the smaller monasteries was passed, February, 1536, the abbots and priors numbered twenty-eight. In the Parliament of April–June, 1539, the numbers were reduced to twenty, after which they disappear altogether.[2]

LECTURE XVII.

FORMULARIES OF FAITH IN HENRY VIII.'S REIGN.

THE three Formularies of Faith put forth in King Henry's reign were called respectively the "Ten Articles," "The Institution of a Christian Man," and "A Necessary Doctrine and Erudition for any Christian Man."

I. The *Ten Articles* were originally entitled, "Articles devised by the king's highness majestie to stablyshe christen quietnes and unitie amonge us, and to avoid contentious opinions: which articles be also approved by the consent and determination of the hole clergie of this realme."[3] These Ten Articles were passed in the first session of the new Parliament, which met in the summer of 1536. The smaller monasteries had been suppressed in the previous February,

[1] It was this Parliament which passed the Six Articles Law (31 Hen. VIII. c. 14), and made royal proclamations equal to Acts of Parliament (31 Hen. VIII. c. 8). Quote Dixon, ii. 129. See Perry, pp. 135, etc.

[2] [The constitutional importance of this change is well seen in the following table:—

1509. 46 spiritual and 36 temporal peers sat in the House of Lords.
1547. 27 ,, 47 ,, ,, ,,

In other words, the lay peers were now in the majority.]

[3] So Berthelet's edition. In the Cotton MS. the title is simply "Articles about religion, set out by the convocation and published by the king's authority."

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in the last session of the Reformation Parliament. The Articles, having stated their object to be to establish charitable concord and unity in our Church of England, proceed to draw a distinction between such things as are commanded expressly by God, and are necessary to our salvation, and such others as, although they be not expressly commanded of God nor necessary to our salvation, yet should, for reasons specified, be preserved. This distinction between the *necessary* and the *variable* was the real principle of the Reformation. For the constant error of the Roman Church was to extend the list of matters which were *de fide*, and to minimize the variable element as far as possible. When John Frith was martyred, he died not because he disbelieved the Roman theory of transubstantiation, but because he denied the right of any Church to elevate a theory into an article necessary to salvation. "That this should be a necessary article of the faith, I think no man can say it with a good conscience, although it were true indeed."[1] It was long before the Church of England reduced the "necessaries" to their true limits, but the clear defining of a difference between things essential and things indifferent was a real advance and a real protest. The things necessary to be believed are: (i.) The grounds of faith, viz. the Bible, the three Creeds, the Four Councils, and the traditions of the Fathers which are not contrary to God's Word; (ii.) The Sacrament of Baptism; (iii.) The Sacrament of Penance; (iv.) The Sacrament of the Altar; and (v.) Justification. The things to be retained, though not necessary to salvation, are: (vi.) Images; (vii.) Honour due to saints; (viii.) Praying to saints; (ix.) Rites and ceremonies; (x.) Purgatory. All these ceremonies of the Church were defended, but carefully guarded against abuse, while in the case of Purgatory the limits of our knowledge are clearly pointed out. The Articles were, of course, a compromise between the champions of the Old and New Learning. The Bishops of London, York, Lincoln, Chichester, and Norwich were ranged against Cranmer and the Bishops of Worcester, Sarum, Hereford, and Ely. In the Article on the Sacrament of the Altar, Transub-

[1] See reff. in Dixon, i. 168, and f.n.

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stantiation is plainly asserted;[1] the Sacrament of Penance was of Divine institution, and therefore necessary with priestly absolution. In Justification, which was defined in Melanchthon's words (*Justificatio significat remissionem peccatorum et reconciliationem seu acceptationem personæ ad vitam aeternam*),[2] the necessity of good works is insisted on.

When the draft of the Articles, which was mainly the work of Fox of Hereford, was brought to Convocation on July 11, a hot debate took place, especially on the number of the Sacraments. As the archbishop pointed out, it was primarily a question of terms. The name Sacrament had been given to all the seven rites, but they had to decide whether it was a fit title for rites not proved to be instituted by Christ. The question was not settled. Three Sacraments only are mentioned, but there is no denial of the name to the other four, while both the "Institution" and the "Erudition" distinctly recognize the seven. Our own Article XXV. implicitly allows the term, though two Sacraments only are "generally necessary."[3]

II. The *Institution*, which was published the following year, 1537, is commonly known as the "Bishops' Book." In its tone it is "pious rather than theological."[4] The Ten Articles are incorporated in it; the two on Justification and Purgatory almost verbatim. Among the prelates were now several promoted regulars, who were mostly "Henrician," to use Sanders' word. These were Barlow, Hilsey, Rugge, Goodrich, and others, and yet it is difficult to say whether the "Bishops' Book" shows any real advance in the direction of the New Learning. In the letter addressed by the bishops to the king, which now appears as the Preface, they asked to be allowed to set forth this book as "a plain and sincere doctrine, concerning the whole sum of all those things which appertain

[1] [The term "Transubstantiation," however, is not employed, nor does the statement of the Article on the doctrine of the Sacrament expressly assert (like that of the Six Articles) the desition of the natural substance of the elements. See Blunt, i. 442.]

[2] See Dixon, i. 418; and see Laurence, "Bampton Lectures," p. 347.

[3] See Dixon, i. 410–421.

[4] Dixon, i. 524.

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unto the profession of a Christian man."[1] It is divided into four parts; the first an exposition of the twelve articles of the Apostles' Creed; the second, of the seven Sacraments; the third, of the Ten Commandments; and the fourth, the seven petitions of the Paternoster, with the Ave and the two Articles on Justification and Purgatory. Here the prominence given to faith was balanced by the seven Sacraments. There was again much controversy at Lambeth about the Sacraments, but the discussions were in writing, and the three questions proposed by the archbishop in each case were: (i.) Is it a Sacrament of the New Testament? (ii.) What were the outward signs ordained and the invisible grace therein conveyed? and (iii.) What were the promises on which it was to be believed that the grace should be received? Cranmer and Fox seem to have had most to do with the "Institution"; by them it was brought to Crumwell, and by him to the king. The king, however, left the letter of the prelates unanswered and the book unauthorized, when he wrote back to the effect that he had not had time to overlook the work, but, trusting it was according to Scripture, he ordered it to be read in part each Sunday for the next three years. Some notes and corrections by Henry, with criticisms on them by Cranmer, still exist.[2] On the whole there is little observable difference in doctrine between the Ten Articles and the Bishops' Book. The latter, however, had neither the authority of Convocation nor Parliament, but was promulgated provisionally by the king. But between the publication of the "Institution" and the "Erudition" a reaction had set in. In June, 1539, the *Six Articles Law* (31 Hen. VIII. c. 14) had been passed, having been introduced by the Duke of Norfolk, the great patron of papal views. In spite of the Confessions of Faith already issued, all the distinctively Roman doctrines were affirmed. *Transubstantiation*,[3] *communion in one kind*, *celibacy of the clergy*, *monastic vows*, *private masses*, and *auricular confession* were not only declared *necessary*, but enforced by pains and penalties. This "Bloody Bill," or "whip with six thongs," as

[1] Pref. in "Form. of Faith," p. 23; cf. Dixon, i. 524.
[2] Cranmer's "Remains," p. 83.
[3] [See note [1], p. 139.]

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it was called, was *not the work of the Church.* It was introduced by a layman to override the deliberations of a committee of bishops actually sitting, and it was forced through Parliament by the personal interference of the king, to whom all, except Shaxton, even the hero Cranmer,[1] gave way.

III. The last public act of Crumwell was to appoint, in 1540, a committee, divided into two classes—the first to treat of doctrines, the second of ceremonies. The "Institution" had been declared to be a temporary measure; the assigned period of three years was just expiring, and a third confession was to be formulated. But it was not till three years after the death of Crumwell that the "Necessary Doctrine and Erudition" (or King's Book) appeared. This was in 1543. This formulary differed from its predecessor in having the *authority of Convocation.* In its tone it was reactionary, though it was a revision of the "Institution." A preface was written in the name of the king, and two texts were on the title-page—"Lord, preserve the king," and "Lord, in Thy strength shall the king rejoice." The preface was followed by an Article on Faith, which was new; then followed the Creed, with an exposition and notes, the Seven Sacraments, in which a distinction was drawn between the three greater Sacraments and the other four, the Decalogue, the Lord's Prayer, the Ave, with an explanation, and four Articles on Free-will, Justification, Good Works, and Prayer for the Departed. The chief variation was to be seen under the head of the Sacraments. Under the Sacrament of the Altar, which was now placed first, not only was Transubstantiation affirmed, but also the receiving in one kind and the duty of fasting communion. Matrimony was, for obvious reasons, spoken of as less binding. Celibacy of priests and monastic vows were enforced in accordance with the Six Articles. A far higher view of the sacerdotal function and a far lower view of the function of preaching is found in the "Erudition." The Free-will Article was moderate in its tone; the old Article on Justification was divided into two, Justification and Good Works; and Purgatory became an Article on Prayer for Souls Departed. It was the complete

[1] See Fox, ap. Dixon, ii. 122.

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triumph of the Old Learning over the New, instead of a compromise, as in the two previous confessions.

[From a pupil's notes.] The "Erudition" was the counterpart of the Six Articles, and represents the complete triumph of unreformed views at the end of Henry's reign. Hence "the Reformation" did not begin till Edward VI.'s reign.

LECTURE XVIII.

BEGINNINGS OF DOCTRINAL CHANGES IN HENRY'S REIGN.

[This lecture seems to have been made up later than its predecessors, and exists only in the form of the following headings :—]

I. *Relation of England with the Protestants.*

Here we must distinguish between—

(i.) The New Learning as used by More, Colet, Erasmus.

(ii.) The Lutheran use of this new learning.

With (i.) all the wisest in England sympathized, Henry, Wolsey, Warham, etc.; with (ii.) neither the king, nor the State, nor the clergy generally agreed till Crumwell rose.

(*a*) Lutheran *books* came into England, but were contraband.

Lutheran *opinions* were as far as possible exterminated, especially when they took the extreme form of Anabaptism. Commissions, etc.

Luther himself had been opposed by Henry, who on August 25, 1521, was given by the Pope the title of *Fidei Defensor.*

(β) Gradually sympathy with Lutheranism sprang up.

(i.) Rise of Crumwell. Crumwell had no *views*—a cold, crafty old politician, whose one idea was to unite England and Germany at all costs.

(ii.) Lutheranized prelates, ex-regulars, strongly anti-Papal and often Lutheran—Cranmer, Latimer, Shaxton, Barlow, Hilsey, Goodrich, Fox.

(iii.) The king and Melanchthon.[1]

[1] See Hardwick, "Articles," p. 51, and f.n. 2.

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Result of this.

Negotiations with "Princes of Augsburg Confession" (1535), frustrated by Gardiner.

Private conferences (January, 1536) in Wittenberg. Fox and Heath. The *Ten Articles* (1536) marked the FAILURE.

Renewed negotiations (1538) in fear of continental war. Lutheran embassy, May, 1538. The Thirteen Articles.[1] The Lutheran *Censure of Abuses.* The reaction—SIX ARTICLES LAW, JUNE 28, 1539.

Crumwell's new scheme. "The Flemish mare" (Anne of Cleves). The marriage, January 6, 1540. Attainder of Crumwell, June 13; execution, July 28. Triumph of Gardiner and Co.

Note that as knowledge of Lutheranism grows in England, English people reject its distinctive tenets.

II. *History of the English Bible* in this reign.

III. *Liturgical modifications.* Prymers, etc.[2]

[1] Hardwick, p. 61.

[2] See Perry, ch. x. sects. 2–4. On the Litany in a thirteenth-century form, see Maskell ["Monumenta Ritualia," iii. 227–238].

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COURSE II.

THE REFORMATION IN THE REIGNS OF EDWARD VI. AND MARY.

(1547–1558.)

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LECTURE I.

THE SPIRITUAL AND THE CIVIL POWER.

IT is impossible to understand the Reformation movement in England, or to distinguish in it that which was constitutional and that which was revolutionary, without a clear view of *the relation of the civil and the ecclesiastical power as understood by the English nation.* If we can find out the theoretical relation between the two we shall be able to test the actions of various kings, Parliaments, or Popes, and to determine their agreement or disagreement with it.

When we speak of the English theory of the relation of the civil and ecclesiastical power, we mean that a certain view of their relation obtained in English history, and that, if this view became obscured for a time, the nation oscillated back to its former view as soon as circumstances made it possible. When we speak of an act or a series of acts as unconstitutional, we mean that they are out of keeping with the principles on which the British constitution rests. We have no difficulty in saying that the Court of Star Chamber or the Court of High Commission was unconstitutional, or that King Henry's Act by which a royal proclamation was made equal to an Act of Parliament was unconstitutional. But such statements imply that there is a theory underlying our national history, a theory developing according to its own laws and yet retaining its identity. The personal government which was possible in the Stuart period would be an anachronism now. Why? Because it would be a contradiction to the constitutional theory in its present stage of development.

Pari ratione, if we can discover the English theory as to the relation of the civil and ecclesiastical power we shall see the lines on which it must develop, and have a criterion by

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which we may judge of what is constitutional and what is not. Was the Act of the Submission of the Clergy constitutional? Was it constitutional for Henry to spoil the monasteries? or for the Privy Council of Edward VI. to act as it did? or for Mary to imprison Archbishop Cranmer and declare the see of Canterbury vacant? Or, in modern days, is the Privy Council constitutionally a court of final appeal in ecclesiastical causes? Is Lord Penzance Dean of Arches? These questions cannot be answered by a simple "yes" or "no," for the answers are determined by the theory adopted as to the relation of the civil and the ecclesiastical power.

The distinction between civil and spiritual (putting the term ecclesiastical for the moment on one side) is as wide as the difference between the kingdoms of the world and the kingdom of God. The civil power has to deal with rights of property and liberty of person; the spiritual has to do with men's souls, warning, teaching, punishing, by spiritual censures. *Spiritual power* is ultimately derived from the Divine commission given on the evening of the Resurrection and on the mountain of Galilee. *Civil power*, while ultimately of course from God, for the powers that be are ordained of God, resides, according to the form of government accepted, in the king or the people, or, in the case of an oligarchy, in a small number of individuals. It is clear that, treated thus abstractly, the civil and the spiritual not only cannot be identical; they cannot overlap. *The spiritual power* cannot touch the person or the property; it cannot fine or imprison or put to death. It can anathematize and absolve; it can warn and teach and censure; it can admit to the Divine society or exclude from that society, or appoint to spiritual office within that society or degrade from that office. *Civil power*, on the other hand, cannot do any of these things, though it can fine and imprison, or burn or torture. It cannot absolve, or ordain, or dispense, or decree anything to be necessary to salvation. The State can bind the hands, but not the conscience; the Church can bind the conscience, not the hands. The State can kill the body, but cannot touch the soul; the Church can condemn to spiritual death, but cannot touch the body.

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All this, however, is true only so long as the civil and spiritual are distinct. The moment they are combined each is conditioned by the other, and the result is an anomalous one. Spiritual matters find their way into Acts of Parliament, and the Church is found to possess coercive power, and the boundary line between the two is confused. When the Church as such possesses property, it subordinates itself to the State's laws about property. When a bishop as bishop becomes a peer of the realm, the State naturally claims his allegiance as a peer. Every ecclesiastical person is bound to two allegiances and it becomes increasingly difficult for him to "render to Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's" without denying "to God the things that are God's."

In England[1] the difficulty of the two allegiances was not overcome as it was on the Continent, and therefore it is misleading to quote the cases as parallel. The parallel existed, no doubt, at a certain period. In the days of Charlemagne, before the Hildebrandine theory was developed, we find the Emperor, the protector of the Papacy, in spite of his reverence for the Pope in spiritual matters, acting as the head of the Church and the source of jurisdiction, appointing bishops, summoning a council (at Frankfort, 794), and, when the Pope, Leo III., is accused of nepotism, acting as judge between the accusers and the accused. The Donation of Charlemagne had made the Pope subordinate to the Emperor in temporal matters, and this was confessed by Leo III. when he recognized Charles' supremacy, sending to him the keys not only of the city, with the standard of Rome, but also the keys of the sepulchre of St. Peter.

If we compare this with the attitude of King Edgar towards Archbishop Dunstan we shall probably have reached the period at which the parallel between the theory of ecclesiastical and civil power in England and on the Continent began to cease.

About the year A.D. 969, King Edgar asserted his view of the relation of the civil to the ecclesiastical power in his well-known words to Archbishop Dunstan: "It appertaineth unto

[1] See, too, Dr. Pusey's "Royal Supremacy."

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us to enquire into the lives of the clergy." . . . "I bear the sword of Constantine, you the sword of Peter; let us join our right hands, ally sword to sword, that the lepers may be cast out of the camp, the sanctuary of the Lord cleansed, and that the sons of Levi may minister in the temple."[1] This theory was appealed to again and again by English kings. The separation of civil and ecclesiastical in the administration of justice by William the Norman emphasized the co-ordinate jurisdiction, though accidentally it introduced ill feeling between the two. According to the English theory, the king, who was supreme over the two parts of the body politic, the spiritualty and the temporalty, administered justice to both through Convocation and Parliament. He had the right of *visitation or reformation*, as well as the right of *appellate jurisdiction.* He could not make a bishop, a priest, or a deacon, but he could give "*jurisdiction*" in the narrow sense, just as, conversely, Mary could deprive Cranmer, but could not degrade him; and even the king's power of visitation, reformation, appellate jurisdiction, etc., was limited in practice to the use of lawful machinery. It was what Perry[2] calls a "regulative" power, and Hooker[3] rightly describes its exercise.[4] Henry and Elizabeth might therefore fairly assert that in their claim to Supremacy they claimed nothing more than was their constitutional right.

Side by side, however, with this English theory there was developed on the Continent, in the days of Hildebrand, Innocent III., and Boniface VIII., a theory which we may call the papal, or mediæval, theory. The growth of this from 1073-1300 we will trace below. In its perfected form, all power was represented as coming from Christ through the Pope, His vicar. The two swords of St. Peter were the temporal and the spiritual; the former was inferior to the latter. *Oportet gladium esse sub gladio*, etc. The battle of *Investitures* was fought and won by the Pope, and the mediæval fabric of the

[1] Spelman, "Conc.," i. 417, quoted in Joyce, "Sword and Keys," ch. i.; J. H. Blunt, "Reformation," vol. ii. p. 44.

[2] Page 187, f.n.

[3] "Ecclesiastical Polity," book viii. sect. 4.

[4] See Cardwell, "Documentary Annals," pref. ix.

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Papacy was the result. It is of course true that, as soon as this theory reached its climax, there was a reaction against it; but the important fact for us to notice is that the papal theory was, as it were, in possession of the ground on the Continent, while in England, as a theory, it had never been accepted, and even the practical encroachments on the national independence were constantly being met by Acts of Parliament, in support of which the spiritualty and temporalty fought side by side.

[The following is a later recension—derived mainly from a small loose sheet of memoranda, by Mr. Moore, and partly from notes of the lecture as delivered in January, 1889—of the earlier portion of Lecture I. The portion extending to the words, "Note the contrast between the old and the new Puritanism," is from the loose sheet, some phrases being added from the 1889 notes; the rest is from a pupil's note-book :—]

At the death of Henry VIII., the English Church was in an anomalous position.

(1) It had abandoned the mediæval theory of the papacy (mediæval unity)—though not the primacy of Rome, which the English Church never renounced—and its relations to the Parliament were not clearly defined.

(2) The reaction from Rome and the rise of a middle-class had led to an enormous accession of the royal power, and a reign of tyranny in Church and State.

(3) It had attempted no doctrinal reformation, and had retained doctrines which implicitly involved the papal view. (Some things, obviously connected with papal claims, were got rid of, but the English Church retained many doctrines which involved the mediæval view—so some say the Reformation did not begin till Edward VI.)

Hence the problems—ecclesiastical and doctrinal—of the succeeding age were—

(α) To readjust the relations of Church and State, so as to save the spiritual character of the Church without allowing an *imperium in imperio*. Crumwell said England was a two-headed monster.

(β) To determine the exact doctrinal position of the English Church as against Rome and the various Protestant bodies.

This result was only secured after two reactions.

(1) *temp.* Edward VI., a predominance of reforming views which threatened the Catholicity of the Church (reaction towards advanced Reformers, which tended to make a breach in its continuity).

(2) *temp.* Mary, a return to Romanism (rendered possible by (1)), which destroyed for a moment the independence of the Church but guaranteed a real reformation afterwards.

Thus, *temp.* Elizabeth, the English Church recognized itself as face to face with two great forces, embodying opposite theories—the papal and mediæval idea of the unity of the Church, making that unity mechanical and unreal, and the Puritan idea, which, ultimately based on individualism, tried to neutralize dis-

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integration by rigid discipline. Note the contrast between the old and the new Puritanism. The new is defended, but is quite different from the old, having given up the old discipline. Puritans opposed the State in the interests of Divine command, as they thought, and this was their great strength against the episcopacy, which said it was not itself *jure divino*, but yet most *useful*. Puritans based their presbyterianism on conscience and faith. *Bancroft* (1589) *recovered right view of episcopacy*. Later Puritanism atomistic.

The English Church took up a *via media*—not a compromise, not a colourless fusion of two different systems, but the line to which English Church was determined by antagonism was a theory of the Church as organically one with the Church before the Reformation, its unity being inherent in it, and not forced upon it by a monarchical or papal power.

We must remember the difficulty of Church *versus* State in England, as on the Continent. When we call an action constitutional, we imply it is in contravention of a theory at that time maintained; if we speak of Henry VIII.'s acts as unconstitutional, we imply that he made a new departure, inconsistent with previous claims. Two conceptions of the relations of Church and State.

(i.) *Hildebrandine*. The State owes its existence to the Church. Our Lord gave two swords to St. Peter, and the temporal sword was passed on to the temporal monarch.

(ii.) *Erastian*. (Rather theory than fact.) *Cujus regio, ejus religio*, which implies that the Church is a mere department of the State, and that it rests with the temporal power to determine what is true in religion. Of course the State has the power to ally itself with any religion, but this is not Erastianism, which implies that the religion adopted by the State is right (cf. the Queen in England and Scotland).

Names given to any system which seems to approximate to one or the other. Some would say "sacerdotal" for "Hildebrandine;" but this is nonsense, just as in the case of those who say that it is Erastianism for a Church to be allied with the State. Easy to separate in thought civil and spiritual power, for while both come from God, civil power rests in the king, people, oligarchy, etc., while the spiritual power comes through a different line, either by succession of ministers, or by immediate act of laying on of hands, in which God appoints. Spiritual power can warn, degrade, exclude, but not touch person, fine, imprison, burn. Spiritual power moves in its own region.

But quite apart from the Establishment, this distinction cannot be maintained, for every member of the State owes allegiance to the king as well as to the spiritual society to which he himself belongs. Hence a collision is suggested between two allegiances. Matter is far more complicated where every religion is recognized by the State as the religion of the land.

When the State enforces the decisions of the Church, and bishops as bishops become peers of the realm, it is increasingly impossible to trace the border-line between Church and State.

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LECTURE II.

THE ROYAL SUPREMACY.

THE theoretical independence of Rome did not imply Erastianism any more than the Royal Supremacy did. For, according to the English theory, the spiritualty under the king was as complete as the temporalty under the king, each equally "sufficient and meet of itself, without the intermeddling of any exterior person or persons," to administer its own affairs. The king, supreme over both, was moderator of both, and to him, as the ultimate source of jurisdiction, the final appeal must lie, as well as the right of visitation.

(*a*) This *matter of appeals* is of great importance, not only because of the prominence the question assumed in Henry's reign, but because it is one of the burning questions of the present day.

An appeal to the king did not mean a subordination of the one part of the body politic to the other. An appeal to the king, in an ecclesiastical cause, would no more be handed over by him to a civil court, than an appeal in a civil cause to an ecclesiastical court. Every appeal to Rome in pre-Reformation days was an appeal to the king, which he allowed to be settled by Rome instead of by the home machinery.

As a matter of fact, however, and in defiance of Præmunire statutes, appeals to Rome had become more frequent; but they were not lawful except with the king's leave. By the Constitutions of Clarendon (1164) the gradation of appeals was this—from the archdeacon to the bishop, from the bishop to the archbishop, and if the archbishop should be slack in doing justice, recourse must be had to the king, by whose order the controversy is to be settled in the archbishop's court, in such sort that no further process can be had without

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the royal assent, *i.e.* the king might allow or refuse a further appeal to Rome.[1]

The celebrated statute, 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12, made all appeal to Rome treasonable, and the Clergy Submission Act of 1534 (25 Hen. VIII. c. 19) established *the Court of Delegates*. All causes touching the king were finally, and without appeal, to be decided by the Upper House of the Convocation of that province in which they arose. [So 1533-4 only.] In all matters not touching the king, there was an appeal from the archbishops' courts (which by the previous Act, 24 Hen. VIII. c. 12, had been final) to the king in Chancery, who appoints delegates for the hearing of each case [this provision being extended by 25 Hen. VIII. c. 19, to matters touching the king].

For two hundred and ninety-eight years, *i.e.* from 1534 to 1832, with the exception of Mary's reign, this was the law of appeals in England, *that ecclesiastical matters should admit of an appeal to the king, who should appoint delegates for each case.* Interpreting the statute of Henry by the *Reformatio Legum*,[2] we find that the intention was that the king should conclude the matter by a provincial synod, if it is a grave cause, or by three or four bishops to be appointed by him for the purpose.[3] That the Delegates subsequently included laymen is no doubt true, but it is also true that few cases involving doctrine came before the Court of Delegates, and in none of such cases did they reverse the decision of the ecclesiastical courts.

The subsequent history of ecclesiastical appeals is a series of blunders. In 1832, by 2 & 3 Will. IV. c. 92, the Court of Delegates was abolished, and appeals not touching the king were given to the Crown in Council, *i.e.* the Privy Council. In 1833, by 3 & 4 Will. IV. c. 41, the Judicial Committee was substituted for the Privy Council. In 1840 (3 & 4 Vict. c. 86, s. 16), by the Clergy Discipline Act, prelates being privy councillors were added to the Judicial Committee for

[1] See Joyce, p. 62, "Appeals to Rome." See Bishop Stubbs' "Appendix to the Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," i. 30. The absolution of Henry II. was granted on condition of the annulling of the Constitutions of Clarendon. cf. Præmunire statutes, 7 Ric. II. c. 14 (1384); 16 Ric. II. c. 5 (1393).

[2] In justification of which see Joyce, p. 86.

[3] Ref. Leg., p. 302.

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appeals arising *under that Act.* In 1876, by the Judicature Amendment Act, this provision was repealed, and spiritual assessors to the Judicial Committee were appointed in a fixed rota.[1]

(β) *The king's right of visitation,* although irreconcilable with the mediæval theory of the Papacy, was distinctly a part of the royal prerogative. It had been claimed by Edgar at the end of the tenth century, as we have seen, and he had exercised his visitatorial powers through the archbishop and the Bishops of Winchester and Worcester. Such a power might be exercised justly or unjustly. It might be made the pretext for sacrilege and spoliation of the Church, or it might be exercised according to the intention specified in the Acts of Henry (25 Hen. VIII. c. 21, s. 20; cf. 26 Hen. VIII. c. 1). This power, like that of final appeal, had been gradually absorbed by the Pope, and visitations had for many years been made in his name, the power of the bishops being for the time superseded. Wolsey's visitation was under papal powers secured to him as *legatus a latere.* Henry's visitation of the monasteries was made under authority of an Act of Parliament reviving the ancient prerogative. No one defends the suppression of the monasteries under Henry VIII. If the money were misapplied or wasted, it was open to the visitor to regulate, but not to appropriate it. Wolsey's suppression of priories for the new foundation of Cardinal College implied no spoliation. Henry's suffragan bishoprics and Edward's endowed schools, if the plans had ever been carried out honestly, might have saved the visitors from the crime of sacrilege.[2] Difficult to say where acts began to be illegal. Was it when money was misapplied that appointment of visitors was made with a view to make the case against the monasteries as bad as possible? This proved. In theory, visitation was conducted through the ecclesiastical authorities, and Henry VIII. seems to have felt that in order to justify his

[1] See Joyce, especially pp. 64, 65; and Gibson's "Codex," Introd. p. xxi.; and, above all, Bishop Stubbs' "Appendix to the Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," vol. i. p. 46, *sqq.*

[2] [The following sentences to the end of the section on the power of visitation come from a pupil's note-book.]

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irregular mode, he had to prove that the circumstances were exceptional, and therefore used new machinery. The *Royal Injunctions* come under the same head as visitation. Their meaning may be discovered from episcopal Injunctions which were issued to regulate and secure the subordinate clergy, having in view the reformation of abuses and restoration of discipline. *They did not make new laws, but enforced those already existing. But Royal Injunctions*, beginning with suppression, *were new laws* either impossible for the monasteries to accept, or which, if accepted, would have made life unbearable. Hence we often find a voluntary cession by a monastery rather than obey Injunction. Instead of enforcing the law of the community, a new law was enforced.

(γ) *Jurisdiction.* One other question has to be touched upon in connection with the English theory of the relation of the ecclesiastical and civil power, and that is the question of jurisdiction. According to the papal theory, jurisdiction comes from the Pope;[1] according to the English theory, it comes ultimately from the king.[2] Jurisdiction is "the limitation and restriction within certain geographical bounds of spiritual powers which are exercisable in all parts of the world."[3] A bishop is by consecration a bishop wherever he is, and cannot cease to be a bishop till he is degraded. A missionary bishop *quâ* bishop is equal to the Pope or the Archbishop of Canterbury, but he is without jurisdiction. He is a bishop, but not a bishop of any see. A bishop when he receives jurisdiction is limited to a see, but within that see he is supreme. It is an open question among canonists whether election to a see confers jurisdiction,[4] but an election being impossible without the royal *congé d'élire*,[5] it may fairly be argued that jurisdiction

[1] On jurisdiction, see Hutton, appendix, p. 498. Vocation, ordination, mission. Four theories: (i.) jurisdiction from Pope; (ii.) from king; (iii.) from orders; (iv.) inherent in see.

[2] See Hutton, p. 212, who draws a parallel from secular jurisdiction, but ignores the English view of jurisdiction.

[3] J. H. Blunt, ii. 38.

[4] See Gibson's "Codex Jur. Ecclesiastical Ang.," Tit. v. c. 2, ap. J. H. Blunt, ii. 38, f.n.

[5] In any case election is not complete in an Established Church till it is confirmed. Barlow is said to have been never consecrated—objection is not worth discussing—but spoken of as bishop elect; this does *not* mean not consecrated, but not confirmed.

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comes from the king through the chapter or the appointing body.[1] It cannot come from consecration, for in the case of a translation a new jurisdiction is conferred without a new consecration. When the fear of the papal view died out, jurisdiction was understood to come from "the definitive sentence" of the metropolitan, by which he commits to the newly elected bishop "the care, government, and administration of the spirituals" of the diocese.[2]

Royal Supremacy thus implies:

1. The final appellate jurisdiction.
2. The right of visitation and reformation.
3. That the Crown is the source of episcopal jurisdiction.

But none of these powers inherent in the Crown are exercised by the king in person, and the lawful or unlawful use of the Supremacy depends on the legal or illegal machinery used for its exercise.

If the king were to hear ecclesiastical appeals in person, or through a lay tribunal, such exercise of the Supremacy would be *unconstitutional.*

If the king visits through a lay person, such as Crumwell, his right of visitation is exercised *unconstitutionally.*

If the king grants jurisdiction by letters patent, his exercise of that power is *unconstitutional.*

[The following rough pencil notes may be preserved as suggesting an interesting line of inquiry:—]

(*a*) Power of Visitation.

(β) Supreme Head.

(*a*) indeterminate; (β) determinate.

References—Bishop Stubbs, in the "Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," vol. i.
24 Hen. VIII. c. 12.
25 Hen. VIII. c. 19.
26 Hen. VIII. c. 1.

[1] [The extract from Gibson's "*Codex*" given below may enable the reader to see what powers are and what are not conceived by Mr. Moore to be thus derived.]

[2] See J. H. Blunt, ii. 37.

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Headship.

"Institution," pp. 120, 121.

"Necessary Doctrine," pp. 248, 286, 287.

Extension of the power [by] 37 Hen. VIII. c. 17 (1546).

(a) Prerogative.

(β) Supremacy.

(γ) Headship.

(δ) Vicegerency.[1]

[1] See a valuable passage in Gibson's "Codex," Introduction, pp. xvii. and xviii., on the meaning of the statement that "All ecclesiastical authority is in the Crown;" King Edward's commissions, and why they were not revived; jurisdiction *in foro externo.*

"When therefore the Laws relating to the Royal Supremacy, which were made in the Reigns of Henry VIII., Edward VI., and Queen Elizabeth, say,—That all Ecclesiastical Authority is *in the Crown*, and *derived from thence*, or use any Expressions of the like Import; it is to be remembered, that the *principal Intent* of all such Laws and Expressions, was to exclude the usurped Power of the Pope, and that they must be interpreted consistently with that other Authority, which our Constitution acknowledges to belong to every Bishop by *the Word of God.* And it is by way of Distinction from this, that Judge Hales (speaking of the Legal Power of Bishops) called it Jurisdiction in Foro Exteriori; which is confessed on all hands to be *derived* from the Crown, viz. the *External* Exercise and Administration of Justice and Discipline, in such Courts, and in such ways and methods, as are by Law or Custom Established in this Realm. And after all the stress that has been laid upon the forementioned Statute of Edward VI., in order to prove the Church to be a *meer Creature* of the State; whoever attends to the language and tenor of that Statute, will find it highly probable that no more was *originally intended* by it, than what Judge Hales meant by jurisdiction *in Foro Exteriori.* There, the Grievance recited is, That the *Bishops did use* (to do what? not to plead that they had a general Authority *from the Word of God*, to exercise Discipline in the Church, but) *to make and send out their Summons, Citations, and other Process in their own names.* And because all *Courts Ecclesiastical be kept by no other Power or Authority, either Foreign or within the Realm, but by the authority of His most excellent Majesty*, therefore it is enacted, That all Summons, Citations, or other Process Ecclesiastical shall be made in the King's Name.

"All this is *forinsick* Language: as is also *the Seal of Office*, and *the Seal of Jurisdiction*, in the next Clause; in which Seal the Arms of the King were to be ingraven, that it might appear in the Course of every Process, that they *held not their Courts* (as the People had been accustomed to *think* they did) by Virtue of a *Foreign* or Papal Power. But, the Act having been *abrogated* in the Reign of Queen Mary, there was no occasion to revive it under Queen Elizabeth, after the Supremacy was fully established, and the Popish Bishops were deprived, and no *thought or suspicion* remained, of English Prelates holding their Courts by authority from Rome.

"But we need not have recourse to Arguments, the force of which depends upon *Implication* and *Construction:* since (as we have seen) the very *Office* of Consecra-

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LECTURE III.

REVIEW OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL CHANGES MADE IN HENRY VIII.'S REIGN.

THIS being the English theory of the relation of the civil to the ecclesiastical power, and of the Crown to both, we are able to estimate *the character of the acts of the previous reign.*

King Henry in his anti-papal acts vindicated the ancient constitutional rights of the Crown, and by so doing vindicated the independence of the English Church.

In finally disallowing appeals to Rome, Henry acted constitutionally and on historical grounds, nor can his action in putting the Upper House of Convocation in place of the archbishop's court as a court of final appeal in matters touching the king [this only 1533-4], and the Court of Delegates in all other ecclesiastical causes, be found fault with, though, contrary to the intention of the Act, laymen were slowly introduced and thus made the Act of 1832 possible. But the application of the *Præmunire Law* was (*a*) in any case sharp practice; (*β*) in Wolsey's case gross injustice; and (*γ*) to the English people mere terrorism. Similarly, the vindication of the con-

tion, so often confirmed by Parliament, warrants every Bishop, in the clearest and fullest terms, to claim Authority *by the Word of God*, for the correcting and punishing of such as be *unquiet, disobedient and criminous* (*i.e.* for the exercise of all manner of Spiritual Discipline) within his Diocese. And as to other matters, which, though not of a spiritual nature, have been thought by Princes most properly cognisable by spiritual authority, (such are Causes Matrimonial, Causes Testamentary and the like); in these, the Church, as such, is not at all concerned; nor is any one so unreasonable, as to set the Right of Cognisance in these cases, on any bottom, but the Concessions of Princes, enforced by the Authority of Law and Custom."

Cf. "Ref. Legum," "*Jurisdictio regis*" (p. 200) "*omnis jurisdictio et ecclesiastica et secularis ab eo.*" See, too, quotation from Lord Coke (Gibson, p. xix.): "Certain it is that this kingdom hath been best governed and Peace and Quiet preserved, when both Parties, that is, when the Justices of the Temporal Courts and the Ecclesiastical Judges, have kept themselves within their proper Jurisdiction, without encroaching or usurping upon one another."

See, too, the whole of Gibson's comment on the Statute of Appeals.

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stitutional independence of the English Church was *aimed at* Queen Katharine. This point noticed by Shakespeare. Henry could act in accordance with law, yet against its spirit; *e.g.* after he imprisoned More and Fisher he got a retrospective Act.

In his visitations he made unconstitutional use of a constitutional right. He had a right to visit, but only by lawful machinery. The appointment of Thomas Crumwell, in spite of the statement that it was not intended to interfere with "those parts of episcopal authority which are of Divine bestowal,"[1] was unconstitutional, because it put a layman in an ecclesiastical office. The actual work of the visitation and the suppression of the monasteries was, of course, simple robbery, as was the grant of annates to the king by Act of Parliament.

Similarly, the compelling the bishops to take out licences from Crumwell was not only a clumsy, but an unconstitutional way of vindicating the claim of the Crown to be the source of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. But the fact that Lee, Stokesley, Gardiner, Longland, Tunstall—all bishops of the Old Learning—as well as such men as Bonner and Cranmer, took out these licences is a proof that they did not necessarily imply an Erastian view of the bishops as State officers.[2]

Two Acts, however, had been passed in the late reign which were not only in excess of the royal prerogative, but *in contradiction of the first clause of Magna Charta*, and both of these still disgrace the statute book.

The first (25 Hen. VIII. c. 19) deprived the Church of her immemorial right of legislation; the second (25 Hen. VIII. c. 20) destroyed her right of free election, by incorporating the letter missive with the statute.

By the first the old canon law was left in force, except so far as it contravened the statute law, a commission of thirty-two being appointed to revise it, which commission we shall find reappearing in Edward VI.'s reign.

By the second the *congé d'élire* was made a farce, the nomination resting absolutely with the king, and on this

[1] See Dixon, ii. 168. [2] As Froude says, v. 10. See Dixon, ii. 168.

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ground, and as the logical consequence of that Act, we shall find the *congé d'élire* abolished in Edward's reign.

As far as the *reformation in doctrine* went, none had been proposed or attempted in Henry's reign. The three Formularies of Faith implied no variation from Catholic doctrine, though the papal claims were rejected (1536, 1537, 1543).[1]

The use of the vulgar tongue in public worship was begun when, on Sunday, October 18 (St. Luke's Day), 1544, the English Litany, authorized to be sung in every parish church on Sundays and festivals henceforth, was publicly chanted in St. Paul's. It was afterwards incorporated in the King's Primer of 1545.[2] But the committee appointed by Convocation in 1543 to prepare a new service-book was working throughout the last years of Henry's reign, and finished their work soon after Edward's accession.

The Bible[3] was already published by authority in English. As far back as 1534, the Convocation had called upon the king to redeem his promise of having the Bible translated by "great learned and Catholic persons" (1529), to take the place of the heretical version of the New Testament by Tyndale (1526). Coverdale's Bible appeared in October, 1535, and was allowed by the king. Two years later (1537), Matthew's Bible (by J. Rogers), a compound of Tyndale's and Coverdale's, was licenced by the king, and in 1539 was re-edited, with a preface by Cranmer.[4] The re-editing was the work of Coverdale and Grafton, at Cromwell's instigation. This was THE GREAT BIBLE, which in 1543 the Church was ordered by Convocation to read on festivals (one chapter of Old Testament after the *Te Deum* and one of New Testament after the *Magnificat*[5]).

[1] Compare the Ten Articles with Archbishop Hamilton's Catechism in Scotland, which contains all we now call Roman, yet ignores the Pope, though there had been no breach with Rome.

[2] As it had been in its original form in English for 150 years. See Maskell, whose Prymer dates about 1400 (Maskell, ii. xxxv. sqq.). Perry, p. 179.

[3] [As to the history of the Bible in English, see Bishop Westcott's "General View of the History of the English Bible."]

[4] See Cranmer's "Remains," pp. 118 *sqq*.

[5] Perry, p. 178. See Procter, pp. 19, 20.

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LECTURE IV.

HENRY VIII.'S WILL—THE SUCCESSION AND THE COUNCIL.

THE reign of Edward VI. (1547–1553) is in striking contrast with that of his father. Henry VIII.'s personal rule, limited only by the forms of law, was followed by six years of Privy Council government during the king's minority. No regency was appointed or intended, and even the protectorship was not included in the scheme sketched out in *Henry's will.* That remarkable document fixed the succession in the following order:—Edward, who, in default of heirs male, was to be succeeded by Mary and Elizabeth, both of whom had been declared illegitimate. If their issue failed the succession was then to pass to Frances, daughter of Mary Tudor, widow of Louis XII. (Frances was wife of Henry Grey, Duke of Suffolk, and mother of Lady Jane Grey), and then to Eleanor, Mary Tudor's younger daughter. The line of Margaret, Queen of Scotland, Henry's eldest sister, was thus passed over in favour of the heirs of Mary, whose granddaughter, Lady Jane Grey, was the "Nine Days' Queen." Independently of Succession Acts, the order of succession would have been Edward, Mary, Elizabeth, Mary Queen of Scots, and her descendants, all of whom would rank before Lady Jane Grey. Edward VI.'s original intention, while following the scheme fixed by his father's will so far as to prefer Mary to Margaret, attempted to set aside his sisters Mary and Elizabeth, and to limit the succession to the heirs male of Frances. Under the influence of the Duke of Northumberland, however, he altered this plan in favour of Lady Jane Grey.[1]

[1] See his "Devise for the Succession," ap. J. H. Blunt, "Reformation," ii.

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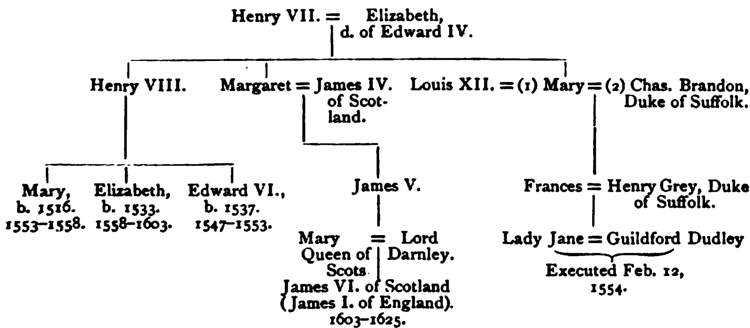
Henry's next care was to preserve as far as possible for the next nine years *the existing state of things in Church and State.*[1] For the last six years the Church of England had been gradually settling down in the new state of things. The committee appointed in the late reign (1543) to remodel the Church services was quietly progressing with its work. The terrible Six Articles Law, though modified, was a check on the extreme Reformers at home, and effectually discouraged foreigners. If this state of things could have continued till Edward came of age, the complete reformation of the Church by its own action might have been the result. To secure this, Henry, in his will, appointed a Privy Council of sixteen to be his executors, apparently with equal powers, and guided by an assistant body of councillors, twelve in number. Amongst the sixteen only *two bishops* appeared, Cranmer and Tunstall, the representatives of the New Learning and the Old. Gardiner was conspicuous by his absence.[2] The intention of the late king was plainly to govern England by his dead hand, through representatives whom he thought he could trust, and whom he charged, "as they must and shall answer at the day of judgment," to see his will carried out.

187, f.n.; see "Original Letters," clxxxii. p. 365. For the Will of Henry VIII., see Heylyn's "Reformation," vol. i. pp. 56–58.



[1] For Henry's last speech in Parliament, see Dixon, ii. 384.

[2] [From a pupil's note-book.] It seems impossible that Henry should have left out Gardiner, the truest of all to the old English Church idea. He opposed both Edward and Mary; the moment the Spanish match was proposed, he opposed it, and the persecution became worse after his influence was lost. A suspicion that the will was tampered with.

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Before the breath was out of his body the whole scheme was changed. Hertford and Paget met in a gallery adjoining the death-chamber[1] and arranged that Hertford should be Protector, as the king's uncle, the executors and the board of councillors being united in one body. The first part of this scheme was carried out by a resolution, which was signed by thirteen out of the sixteen executors (Justice Bromley, Sir Edward Wotton, and Dr. Wotton did not sign; perhaps absent). The king gave his assent, and immediately the Protector and council proceeded to a creation of nobility, said to have been intended by the late king. The usurper Hertford became Duke of Somerset; his brother, Sir Thomas Seymour, became Lord Seymour of Sudeley, etc.;[2] the new nobles proceeding at once to help themselves to the monasteries and monastic sites still remaining with the Crown.[3] There was, however, a formidable obstacle to the Protector's plans in the Lord Chancellor, Wriothesley, but an unlucky move of his enabled Somerset to effect a *coup d'état* and rid himself of the Lord Chancellor from the council, the Great Seal being transferred to Lord St. John. The next step was a commission under warrant of the Protector and Privy Council, by which the twenty-six (exclusive of the Protector and the disgraced Lord Chancellor), with ten others, are appointed a council, the acts of the Protector endorsed, and power is given to him to add to the council as he pleased. He was now king in all but the name for two and a half years. His last rival was removed when he secured the execution of his brother, Lord Seymour, High Admiral, on March 20, 1549, because his growing influence with the boy king seemed dangerous to the Protector (Act of attainder passed March 5, 1549, 3 Edw. VI. c. 18). From that moment Somerset became more arrogant and more sacrilegious. He styled himself "by the grace of God," a title which had no meaning apart from the anointing oil.[4] Somerset House, or Somerset Place, as it was called, compelled the demolition[5] of three

[1] J. H. Blunt, ii. 3, f.n.; and Strype, "Ecclesiastical Memorials," II. ii. 430.
[2] See Dixon, ii. 416. [3] *Ibid.*, f.n. [4] See Maskell, ii., introd., xiii.
[5] See Heylyn's account of this, i. 151, 152.

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bishops' houses and the church of St. Mary. The materials got from these being insufficient for his purpose, he began to pull down St. Margaret's, Westminster, but met with such violent opposition that he pulled down instead some of the buildings and chapels attached to St. Paul's Cathedral. His library was furnished from Guildhall. But a strong party was forming against him under Dudley, Earl of Warwick, afterwards Duke of Northumberland, and his fall was rapid. On October 11, 1549, the council summoned the Protector before them, having previously, on October 7, declared him a traitor; and on the 13th he was committed to the Tower. On December 28, he was consigned to prison by Act of Parliament, but was afterwards released, and even, on April 10, 1550, made a privy councillor, while the opposition between him and Warwick seemed to be forgotten when Lord Lisle, son of Warwick, married Somerset's daughter Anne. But Somerset never regained his influence, and on October 16, 1551, he was again accused of treason and felonious designs to imprison Warwick, now Duke of Northumberland, and was beheaded January 22, 1552.

The ecclesiastical influence of Somerset was probably much less than is often supposed. At all events, during the Duke of Northumberland's rule, the tone of the Reformation movement changed in the direction of Puritanism. During the protectorate of Somerset, Convocation and Parliament constitutionally completed and enforced the devotional system of the Church, the First Prayer-Book having been authorized just before Somerset's fall.

Ecclesiastical Legislation of Edward VI.

(Pinkie, September 10, 1547.)

Parliament did not meet till nine months after Edward's accession, and therefore not till the Protector had consolidated his power; and this Parliament lasted, with prorogations, till April, 1552. A new Parliament met March 1, 1553, and sat till the end of the month. The ecclesiastical legislation of this Parliament was of little importance.

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Regnal year begins January 28.

First session, *November* 4–*December* 24, 1547.

1 Edw. VI. c. i. Act against revilers of the Sacrament, and for receiving in both kinds.

1 Edw. VI. c. 2. Abolition of *congé d'élire*.

1 Edw. VI. c. 12. Treasons Acts and Act of Six Articles repealed.[1]

1 Edw. VI. c. 14. Chantries given to the king.

1 Edw. VI. c. 15. General pardon, with exceptions.

Of the Acts passed in this session, two, 1 Edw. VI. c. 1 and c. 2, were repealed by 1 Mary, c. 2.

The next session was *November* 24, 1548–*March* 14, 1549.

2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 1. Act of Uniformity, with First Book of Common Prayer (January 21, 1549).

2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 18. Attainder of Thomas Seymour (March 5, 1549).

2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 19. Act enjoining abstinence.

2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 21. Act legalizing marriage of priests.

2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 36. Grant to the king.

Of these Acts, the Act of Uniformity and that permitting marriage of priests were repealed by 1 Mary, c. 2.

The next session was *November* 4, 1549–*February* 1, 1550.

3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 10. Act against images and old service-books.

3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 11. Commission of thirty-two reappointed.

3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 12. The Ordinal authorized by anticipation (January 31, 1550).

Of these, the Act against images and that authorizing the Ordinal were repealed by 1 Mary, c. 2.

The next and last session was *January* 23, 1552–*April* 15, 1552.

5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 1. Act of Uniformity and Second Prayer-Book.

5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 3. Holy days and fasts limited.

5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 4. Act against fighting in churches.

5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 12. Legitimating of priests' children.

[1] See Dixon, ii. 454.

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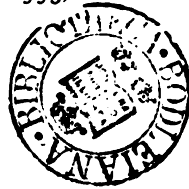
Of these, three, viz. the Act of Uniformity, the Act concerning holy days, and legitimating of priests' children, were repealed by 1 Mary, c. 2.

The new Parliament met March 1, 1553, *and sat till March* 31, 1553.

Edward died July 6, 1553.



LECTURE V.

HISTORY OF THE REFORMATION ON THE CONTINENT, 1547–1553 — BISHOPS' LICENCES—THE HOMILIES AND THE PARAPHRASE.

ON the Continent the opening of the year 1547 witnessed the defeat of Mühlberg (April 24), the surrender of the Elector of Saxony and the Landgrave of Hesse, the capitulation of Wittenberg, and the breakdown of the Smalkaldic League.

The *Council of Trent* had held its sixth and seventh sessions on January 13 and March 3, and immediately after (March 11) was transferred to Bologna. The result was a breach between the Emperor and the Pope (Paul III.), and the publication of the Augsburg Interim on May 15, 1548, which is important in English Church History as having driven some of the continental Reformers, notably *Bucer*, to this country.[1]

The Pope died November 10, 1549, and was succeeded, February 8, 1550, by the Cardinal del Monte as Julius III. The Council was the next year (May 1, 1551) restored to Trent, where its important thirteenth and fourteenth sessions were held (October 11 and November 25). Then the Council was suspended for two years, but did not meet till ten years afterwards (January 18, 1562).

The *war between Maurice and the Emperor*, the taking of Augsburg and flight of the Emperor from Innsbruck, followed by the TREATY OF PASSAU (August 2, 1552), bring us near the end of Edward's reign.

[1] See Dixon, ii. 520–528.

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In France the death of Francis I. followed within two months of that of Henry VIII. (January 28–March 31, 1547), and Henry II. his son, who succeeded, reigned till after the accession of Elizabeth.

Of *the Protestants*, Luther was dead (February 18, 1546), Calvin was supreme in Geneva, *Bullinger* at Zürich, *Myconius* at Basle, *Bucer* at Strasburg, while *Bugenhagen* and *Melanchthon* represented the Wittenberg School. The Saxon and Swiss Reformers were drifting farther apart. Bucer was still mediating as he had done from the first. In the year which followed the Augsburg Interim, the CONSENSUS TIGURINUS (1549) united the Calvinists with all the Protestant states which had in 1536 signed the First Helvetic Confession (Second Confession of Basle), viz. Strasburg, Basle, and Zürich. Melanchthon and Bugenhagen accepted the Leipsic Interim (*ἀδιάφορα*), 1549, while two years after Melanchthon rewrote the Augsburg Confession under the title of *Confessio Saxonica* (*Repetitio Fidei Augustana*), 1551. The mediating Bucer died the same year (February 28, 1551) at Cambridge, and the Saxon and the Swiss Reformers were finally separated.

The constitutional procedure in matters ecclesiastical, now that by the Submission of the Clergy their power of legislation was gone, was as follows. Convocation was summoned by the king's writ at the same time as Parliament. The decisions of Convocation were not law until they had received the royal assent. It was, however, hardly likely that the Protector and council would be particular about constitutional procedure when they had so openly been false to their trust. Not only did the Protector act in the name of the Crown; he strained the royal prerogative to its very utmost. The Erastian tendency of the new government was seen in its first ecclesiastical act, the requiring *bishops to obtain new licences from the Crown.*[1] These licences, which had been invented in the late

[1] Perry, ch. xi. sect. 3; Blunt, ii. 34 and foll.; Dixon, ii. 413, and cf. pp. 167, 168. Cranmer's licence is in Cardwell's "Documentary Annals," i. No. i., where see f.n.

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reign, were a clumsy expedient for bringing home to the clergy the fact of the Royal Supremacy, and the claim of the king to be the ultimate source of jurisdiction. The jurisdiction, however, derived from the king is exercised through the archbishop, or rather by the establishing of a religion its chief minister receives the right of administering jurisdiction in the king's name for the National Church. Till the Hildebrandine theory was developed it was the same on the Continent. Then it was discovered that all power temporal as well as spiritual came from the Vicar of Christ, and therefore jurisdiction also came from him. This theory had gained ground in England, and to restore the old theory the bishops were compelled to take out licences directly from the king. That it was the recognition of an existing fact is implied in the older licences: "If we have conferred jurisdiction upon any persons it is their duty to acknowledge it to be derived from us, and to resign it at our will."[1] And the new licences of Edward VI. were an acknowledgment of the fact that all jurisdiction came from the king. There was no infringing on spiritual powers. These were carefully guarded by the phrase, "*præter et ultra ea quæ tibi ex sacris literis divinitus commissa esse dinoscuntur.*" All else was "*vice, nomine et auctoritate nostris.*"[2]

This licence to Cranmer bears date February 7, 1547, the coronation being on the 20th [of the same month]. These commissions were probably suggested by the new patents made out for the judges. The Lord Chancellor gave up the seals and received them again from Edward's hands on February 1, and was instructed to make out the judges' patents. The commissions were the new patents for the bishops.[3] The commission, after stating that all authority of jurisdiction and jurisdiction of every kind, as well ecclesiastical as secular, flows from the king, gives leave to ordain within the diocese

[1] Dixon, ii. 167.

[2] Froude says of the licenced clergy, "They were to regard themselves as possessed of no authority independent of the Crown. They were not successors of the Apostles, but merely ordinary officials; and in evidence that they understood and submitted to their position, they were required to accept a renewal of their commissions" (v. 10, apud Dixon, ii. 167, f.n.). This is worthy of Sanders or Cobbett.

[3] Blunt, ii. 34.

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of Canterbury, to institute, to grant probates, and to hear ecclesiastical causes. The power of ordaining was the only one which could be claimed as inherent by the Divine law in the episcopal office, and this power the king could neither give nor take away. The licence recognized, deprivation was the refusal of the State to recognize this spiritual function.[1] (Here we get the analogue of investiture by ring and crozier, which was not the giving of episcopal powers, but the recognition of an individual's right in a special sphere.)

The next ecclesiastical move was probably (as was possibly the granting of licences) the work of Cranmer. This was the enforcing by royal authority the use of two books for the religious education of the people—(i.) *a book of Homilies, and* (ii.) *Erasmus's Paraphrase.*

The Homilies had been prepared by several prelates in the previous reign and presented to the Convocation of 1543, which passed the last English formulary, the "Necessary Erudition;" but they were not passed then, and now, with no authority but that of Cranmer, they were printed (July, 1547) and ordered by royal authority to be read every Sunday in churches.[2] The book made no allusion to the Sacrament of the Altar, and only incidentally to Holy Baptism, and Gardiner fairly argued that it was irreconcilable with the "Erudition." See Gardiner's criticism.[3]

The Paraphrase of Erasmus was translated partly by Queen Katharine Parr, partly by the Princess Mary,[4] and published with a preface by Nicholas Udal, which compared Henry to Philip of Macedon, Edward to Alexander, and the Seymours to Aristotle.[5] The book itself used the New Testament as a covert religious satire in favour of the New Learning. But the Paraphrase did not agree with the Homilies, and the Homilies did not agree with the King's Book.[6] Yet the volume was ordered to be set up in every parish church. So did the Privy Council override the law of the Church and the law of the land.

[1] See a good passage in Heylyn, i. 106, and f.n. to p. 105.
[2] See Dixon, ii. 423 and f.n.
[3] See *ibid.*, ii. 451–453.
[4] See Strype, "Ecclesiastical Memorials," ii. 1, p. 53.
[5] See Dixon, ii. 425.
[6] *Ibid.*, ii. 452.

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LECTURE VI.

THE ROYAL VISITATION AND INJUNCTIONS—OPPOSITION OF BONNER AND GARDINER.

In the spring of this year (1547) a violent *attack on images* took place, and, though as yet it was unauthorized, Cranmer in his coronation speech, and Bishops Barlow and Ridley at Paul's Cross in Lent, suggested their demolition. Bishop Gardiner came forward to defend them, and the council was obliged to issue a proclamation to the justices to enforce order. This shows the growth of Swiss influence. From the beginning of Zwingli's career an attack on images held a chief place, while Luther retained crucifix, vestments, ritual, and service. Sharp contrast in England. Whenever an attack on images, altars, and vestments takes place, it is due to the Swiss.

Everything, however, was to be set right by *a royal visitation*, the commission for which was issued as early as May 4, 1547, a Privy Council mandate suspending for the time the ordinary jurisdiction of the archbishops.[1] The visitation was to be conducted by means of *the Injunctions of Edward VI.* As we have seen, the power of visitation resides in the Crown, and therefore, it was argued, in the Privy Council. The Injunctions owed their authority to the most unconstitutional statute of Henry's reign which made a proclamation equivalent to an Act of Parliament. This statute, together with the Treasons Acts, was repealed as soon as Edward's Parliament met.

The *commissioners*, thirty in number, were some clerical, some lay. They were divided into six companies, a licenced preacher being included in each company.[2] Only ten were clerics, three of whom were strong party men, Ridley, Taylor, and Ferrar. The commissioners were to carry with them and

[1] See that issued to the Archbishop of York, "Documentary Annals," i. 33, No. iv.

[2] For the list see Blunt, ii. 48, 49.

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sell the new books; they were also armed with *Articles of Enquiry*, thirteen for bishops, archbishops, and ecclesiastical officers, thirty-five for parish priests, twenty-two for laymen, and five for chantry priests.[1]

These Injunctions were embodied in those of Elizabeth (1559), and many of them reproduced in the Canons of 1604.[2]

The Injunctions included a form of Bidding of the Beads (Bidding Prayer), and special injunctions to the bishops, commanding them (1) to enforce the king's Injunctions; (2) to preach once a year in the cathedral and three times elsewhere; (3) that they should have none but learned chaplains; (4) that they should ordain only men learned in Holy Scripture; and (5) that they should preach nothing contrary to the Homilies.[3]

The visitation was delayed, first by negotiations with the Continent, and then by the war with Scotland, which began about the end of August, and ended in the bloody victory of Pinkie, or Musselburgh (September 10, 1547), after a campaign of fifteen days.

Opposition of *Bonner and Gardiner*.[4] These two prelates represented the growing party of those who wished for no change during the king's minority; so far they were entirely in accord with Henry's will. It was Gardiner who led the opposition against the iconoclasts, and he who opposed the Scotch war. "Let Scots be Scots till the king be come of age."[5] In his opposition to the new Injunctions he was equally constitutional.[6] Being summoned before the council to answer for his objections, made in a letter to Somerset, he left orders with his representatives that the visitors should be received

[1] See the Injunctions and Articles of Enquiry in "Documentary Annals," i., Nos. ii. and iii. See, too, a careful comparison of these Injunctions with the eleven published in 1536, and the seventeen published in 1538, in Blunt, ii. 52–59.

[2] For the Injunctions of Elizabeth see "Documentary Annals," No. xlii., i. 215.

[3] See "Documentary Annals," i. 31; Blunt, ii. 50.

[4] See "Documentary Annals," i.; Nos. xvi., xvii., council's letters to Bonner; *ibid.*, Nos. xviii., xix., two commissions on Bonner; *ibid.*, No. xxiii., king's order to Gardiner, with Articles to be signed.

[5] Letter to the Protector, ap. Dixon, ii. 440.

[6] See quotation from Foxe, ap. Blunt, ii. 127.

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with all respect. He appeared before the council on September 23, and, his answers not being satisfactory, was committed to the Fleet.[1] On Saturday, January 7, 1548, he was set free by the general pardon. A fortnight later he was committed by the council again, on the matter of Justification,[2] and was ordered to preach a test sermon on St. Peter's Day, June 29.[3] The sermon failed to identify the council with the king. He dared not "limit the king's power by council." "He only is to be obeyed, and I would have but one king."[4] This did not harmonize with the Protector's theory, and Bishop Gardiner, now sixty-five years old, was sent to the Tower, June 30, 1548. Two years afterwards, six Articles were pressed upon him, which, like Sir Thomas More, he consented to sign, but not the preface,[5] June 8, 1550; and on June 13, twenty Articles, with the same preamble, which were also refused. On July 19 his bishopric was sequestered for three months. A commission, partly lay and partly clerical, sat from December 15, 1550, to February 14, 1551, when Gardiner was deprived by Cranmer. He remained in the Tower, without books, ink, or paper, until August 5, 1553, when he was liberated by Queen Mary. (Gardiner was in prison five years and nine months.)

Bonner's opposition was more violent and more short-lived. His diocese was visited on September 3, 1547, and the bishop consented to receive the Injunctions and Homilies, and observe them, "if they be not contrary and repugnant to God's laws and the statutes and ordinances of this Church." The council compelled him to retract,[6] and then committed

[1] See Dixon, ii. 442, 443, and order of committal in f.n., 443; Perry, pp. 190, 191.

[2] See Dixon, ii. 450, for Gardiner's comparison of the Privy Council to the Pope.

[3] See, too, Perry, p. 195, § 20. See it in Blunt, ii. 137, etc.

[4] Dixon, ii. 519. Bishop Hooper writes from Zürich a refutation of Gardiner on the mass, Strype, "Eccl. Mem." II. i. p. 55. See, too, "A Pore Help." Strype, *ibid.* II. ii. p. 59. Gardiner, in the songs of the time, was considered popish; "He hath been a Pardoner, also a Gardener." This disproved by his conduct under Mary. He was merely attacked on the Sacrament, which, under Edward, was the great question—the whole question between the First and Second Prayer-books in this.

[5] See these in Blunt, ii. 146, f.n.

[6] See his retractation in Blunt, ii. 120.

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him to the Fleet, where he lay till the general pardon (January 7, 1548). New charges were trumped up against him and failed,[1] and then he, too, was ordered to preach a sermon on a scheme provided by the Privy Council. This was on September 1, 1549. Hooper and Latimer sat under the pulpit, and the sermon was reported unsatisfactory. A commission (September 8–October 1) condemned him, and Archbishop Cranmer deprived him. He was then sent to the Marshalsea,[2] where he remained till Mary's reign.[3]

Tunstall of Durham was got out of the way, and lodged in the Tower about the time the visitation began, September, 1547. Archbishop Cranmer was thus the only ecclesiastic left in the council; and the question of alliance with the Protestants was reopened.[4] Nine months of Edward changed the whole atmosphere. Henry reached the extreme limit of tyrannical power both in Church and State. Same power claimed by the Privy Council both in Church and State, specially unconstitutional with regard to the Church in the Injunctions.

LECTURE VII.

PARLIAMENT AND CONVOCATION IN 1547 (1 EDW. VI.).

ALL this had taken place before Parliament and Convocation met; and though, on the strength of Henry's Act, the council might claim that a proclamation had the force of statute law, it certainly had no ecclesiastical authority, except in so far as Convocation had by previous acts given its approval.

Parliament met November 4, and Convocation the day after.

Convocation had been practically silenced since March,

[1] See Blunt, ii. 121.

[2] Pulled down in 1842.

[3] For Bonner's history, see Perry, ch. xi. sect. 9; Blunt, ii. 119–123; Dixon, ii. 443–445.

[4] Proposed alliance with Protestants discussed purely as a political question; cf. Paget's "Consultation," ap. Strype, "Ecclesiastical Memorials," vol. ii. part i. p. 55. Princess Mary's protest, and the Protector's answer (Strype, *ibid.*, p. 59).

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1544.[1] When it met on November 5, and the archbishop exhorted the clergy to reformation, "that so the Church might be discharged of all popish trash not yet thrown out,"[2] they told him that they dared not, so long as the Six Articles Law was unrepealed. This was reported to the council. In their second session, *November* 22, *four remarkable petitions were sent up from the Lower House to the bishops:* (1) That the committee of thirty-two be revived; (2) that the clergy be present, according to the ancient writ, in Parliament; (3) that *the work of the Committee on Church services*[3] be laid before them; and (4) that some mitigation of annates be allowed. Receiving no answer, they, after three weeks, in their seventh session, December 9, appointed "*solicitatores*" to repeat their demands, and to obtain the royal licence to deal with ecclesiastical laws.[4]

No formal notice seems to have been taken of these demands. But the third resulted the next year in the English Prayer-book; and though the "Reformatio Legum," which grew out of the commission of thirty-two, never became law, the first petition was in substance granted when, in the Parliament then sitting, by the Act 1 Edw. VI. c. 12, the various Treasons Acts and the Six Articles Law were repealed. First-fruits are still paid, but being computed by the value of the benefices, in Henry VIII.'s reign they only amount to six or eight per cent.[5] With regard to the second petition, the clergy are still the only class unrepresented in the Lower House.

In the fifth and sixth sessions (November 20, December 2) of this Convocation, *communion under both kinds was*

[1] See ["Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," i. 138;] Blunt, i. 499; ii. 73; Dixon, ii. 466.

[2] Cardwell's "Synodalia," ii. 1, f.n., from Burnet.

[3] This must mean the *Rationale* (see it in Collier, ii. 191, fol.), which seems to have been suppressed or ignored by Cranmer (Foxe, apud. Strype, "Memorials of Cranmer," i. 75, says, "confuted by him"). See Dixon, ii. 313. For Crumwell's original commission, A.D. 1540, see Dixon, ii. 234.

[4] Dixon, ii. 474. For this remarkable constitutional struggle, see Cardwell's "Synodalia," ii. 419–424; Dixon, ii. 466–477; Blunt, ii. 73–75.

[5] Blunt, ii. 75, f.n. These, with tenths, were given by Anne to poor clergy, 1704 [and form Queen Anne's Bounty].

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agreed upon, "*nemine reclamante*," (November 3, 1547), and this carried with it the necessity of a new Communion Office. Strype[1] says that Henry, shortly before his death, commanded Cranmer "to pen a form for the alteration of the Mass into a Communion;" and the same Convocation, which authorized the receiving in both kinds, adopted "a form of a certain ordinance, delivered by the Most Reverend the Archbishop of Canterbury, for the receiving of the body of our Lord under both kinds, viz. of bread and wine."[2] The statute "against revilers of the Sacrament, and for receiving *thereof in both kinds*, 1 *Edw. VI. c.* 1, *made the Act of Convocation the law of the land.* The first six clauses of the Act, 1 Edw. VI. c. 1, provided for the imprisonment of those who "contemn, despise, or revile the said most blessed Sacrament," and this was supplemented by a *proclamation*[3] (December 27, 1547), which shows the doctrine of the English Church at this time on this debated subject—Real Presence as opposed to Transubstantiation, and to the Swiss figurative view.

Two other Acts of this session were directly anti-ecclesiastical. The first abolished the *congé d'élire;* the second gave the chantries to the king.

The congé d'élire Act[4] (1 Edw. VI. c. 2). This was the fitting pendant to the Act of Henry VIII. (25 Hen. VIII. c. 20), which had reduced the *congé d'élire* to a mere form by the incorporation of the letter missive with the statute. The Act of 1 Edw. VI. c. 2 professed to be passed in the interests of the persons appointed who suffered by the "long delay and great cost" attending that which was "in very deed no election" and served no purpose. The Act substituted direct nomination of bishops by the Crown, and ordered that judicial processes in ecclesiastical cases should be carried on in the name of the king instead of that of the bishops. This Act was repealed by 1 Mary, c. 2; and subsequent attempts to do away with the *congé d'élire* in 1606 (James I.) and 1636 (Charles I.),[5] and again in the present reign, have failed.

[1] "Memorials of Cranmer," i. 139.
[3] Blunt, ii. 87.
[2] App. to Cranmer's "Remains," No. xxvii. p. 505 (Parker Soc.); Dixon, ii. 482.
[4] Heylyn, i. 104, 105; Blunt, ii. 39, etc.; Dixon, ii. 458, 459.
[5] Blunt, ii. 42, f.n.

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Blunt[1] notices that seven bishops were nominated under this Act[2] (*viz.* Ferrar of St. David's, Poynet of Rochester and Winchester, Hooper of Gloucester and Worcester, Coverdale of Exeter, Scory of Rochester, Taylor of Lincoln, and Harley of Hereford). Only *two, Coverdale and Scory,* survived to the later reigns, and these, with *Barlow and Hodgkins,* consecrated Archbishop Parker. Between 1547 and Scory's death, 1585, sixty-six bishops were consecrated. Coverdale assisted in Parker's consecration and no other; Scory in this and the consecration of Grindal, Cox, Meyrick, and Sandys.[3]

The Chantries Act (1 Edw. VI. c. 14). The chantries were chapels built round the choir, sometimes outside, more often within the church. If the church was monastic they were served by the monks; if not, they were specially endowed and supplied with chantry priests, who were often schoolmasters or assisted the parish priest.[4] These chantries had been given to Henry by 37 Hen. VIII. c. 4, and though the king's death prevented it being completely carried out, the fall of the monasteries had suggested the voluntary surrender of chantries, twenty-two of which were surrendered between 1541 and 1547.[5] The avowed object of the Act of Edward VI. was the diversion of ecclesiastical funds from superstitious practices (*i.e.* from masses for the dead to good and godly uses, *e.g.* grammar schools); and the Act was hurried through Parliament and passed, December 14, in spite of the opposition of the bishops and even Cranmer. Cranmer wished to have saved the money to the Church and to have given it to

[1] ii. 43.

[2] Ferrar the first bishop *consecrated* under this Act. But Barlow had been *translated* on the king's nomination, February 3, 1548 (Dixon, iii. 197). Ferrar consecrated September 9, 1548, with the old Pontifical; Poynet consecrated on June 29, 1550, with the Ordinal of 1550. Hooper was consecrated on March 8, 1551; Coverdale and Scory were consecrated on August 30, 1551, at Croydon (see Cranmer's "Remains," letter 281); Taylor consecrated on June 26, 1552; Harley on May 26, 1553.

[3] See the passage in Blunt, *l.c.*

[4] See "Articles of Enquiry for Chantry Priests," "Documentary Annals," ii. 31.

[5] See Dixon, ii. 382, f.n.

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the impoverished seculars,[1] but the council was too strong for him. The grammar schools, eighteen or twenty in number, barely made up for those suppressed, many of the chantries being educational foundations. The value of the whole number suppressed is unknown. In St. Paul's Cathedral there were forty-seven chantries, of the average value of £25 per annum, exclusive of the value of plate and vestments.[2] If, as Heylyn says, 2374 chapels and chantries were suppressed, we get a sum of £70,000, out of which to found twenty grammar schools. These chantries were, as Fuller puts it, "the last dish of the last course, and after chantries, as after cheese, nothing is to be expected." [3] Strype says the whole amount realized from the chantries was £180,000.[4] Towards the end of his life (June, 1553), after hearing a sermon by Bishop Ridley, Edward is said to have been moved to found three institutions for the benefit of the poor by "impotency," by "casualty," and by "extravagance." For the first he founded *Christ's Hospital;* for the second he dissolved the Savoy Palace, and transferred its revenues to *St. Thomas'* and *St. Bartholomew's Hospitals;* while for the third he gave the palace of *Bridewell*, to be a workhouse to which "ramblers, dissolute persons, and sturdy beggars" might be sent, and compelled to work.[5]

The hospitals, which were included in the Act of Henry, were not included in that of Edward; but when the visitation took place no distinction was made.

[1] See Heylyn, i. 103, f.n.

[2] Blunt, ii. 65.

[3] Quoted in Blunt, ii. 66.

[4] [It must be remembered in taking these calculations into account that, besides chantries, hospitals and free chapels were suppressed.]

[5] Perry, p. 218. "So that," Heylyn remarks ("Reformation," i. 275), "by the donation of Bridewell, which he never built, and the suppression of the hospital in the Savoy, which he never endowed, he was entitled to the foundation of Bridewell, St. Bartholomew's, and St. Thomas' without any charge unto himself." A good instance of "robbing Peter to pay Paul" (on which see Heylyn, "Reformation," i. 257; see, too, Dixon, iii. 456 *sqq.*) On the chantries, see Heylyn, i. 102–104; Dixon, ii. 460–463; Blunt, ii. 60–66. On the wrong done to education and the poor by the Chantries Act, cf. Strype, "Eccles. Mem.," ii. part i. p. 63.

"The king had the lands, the poor had the lack."

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So ended the first year of King Edward VI. and the first session of his Parliament, the general pardon setting free the imprisoned Bishops Gardiner and Bonner for a time.

LECTURE VIII.

THE NEW COMMUNION OFFICE AND CRANMER'S CATECHISM (1548).

THE early part of this year was marked by a series of proclamations, which show the state of lawlessness into which England was falling. The proclamation for the *observance of Lent*,[1] bearing date January 16, is remarkable for the ground on which fasting is recommended, viz. the good of the fisheries.[2] Another, dated *February* 6, is directed against innovators, apparently clergy, or, as they are called, "certain private curates, preachers, and other laymen,"[3] who bring in new orders according to their fantasies. But the most important was a mandate, issued on *February* 24, for the destruction of images.[4] The Injunctions had drawn a distinction between images that were abused and those that were not. The mandate ordered the destruction of all alike. It was only a few days after that the NEW COMMUNION OFFICE appeared, and was enforced by a new proclamation, March 8. This was the first work of what is known as the Windsor Commission, NOT the commission appointed by Crumwell in 1540, to which we owe the *Erudition* and the *Rationale*.[5] The Windsor Commission was appointed in January, 1548. The new Communion Office, authorized by anticipation by

[1] Cranmer's "Remains," App. p. 507.

[2] This proclamation of January 16 may be compared with 2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 19, passed in the spring of this year, in which it is stated that though no one kind of meat is "better nor cleaner than another," "but still, if fish were eaten in Lent, on Fridays and Saturdays, on Vigils and Ember Days, much flesh would be saved." Cf. "Let Lent be kept for policy's sake," *à propos* of John Hales's Bills (Strype, Eccl. Mem. II. i. p. 135; Dixon, ii. 547).

[3] Cranmer's "Remains," App. p. 508.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 509.

[5] See Dixon, ii. 315.

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Convocation, and ordered by proclamation of March 8, was the authorized Communion Service of the English Church till June 9, 1549. It was authorized "till other order should be provided,"[1] *i.e.* till the new Prayer-book should be published. *The Mass was not translated*, or *altered in any way*, but Exhortations, etc., were added. The Notice before Celebration, the Exhortation, Invitation, Confession, and Absolution, and the Comfortable Words stand almost as at present. These were mainly from Hermann's "*Deliberatio*," which was chiefly Bucer's work.[2] The new Communion Office was translated into Latin by Miles Coverdale,[3] but probably the printed translation is by Alex. Ales. The Act for giving chantries to the king came into operation about the same time, *a special visitation* for this purpose being ordered. Cranmer, too, seems about this time to have visited his diocese, ostensibly to see how far the royal visitation and the Injunctions of the previous year had been carried out.[4] He also at this time put forth what is known as CRANMER'S CATECHISM, which was really a translation of a translation. An unknown German Catechism was translated into Latin by Justus Jonas (probably the elder, not the younger), and the Latin version was translated into English by Cranmer, and published with a preface to the king. It is chiefly remarkable as showing what Cranmer's views were at this time. The Real Presence, the power of the keys, the Apostolical Succession are all plainly stated, but the pictures are changed! *e.g.* the priest celebrating Mass in vestments is replaced by a picture of the Last Supper.[5]

The proclamation authorizing the new Communion Service was followed, *March* 13, by a letter missive from the council

[1] See the proclamation, "Liturgies of Edward VI." (Parker Society).

[2] See Dixon, ii. 494–497; Procter, pp. 336–339, for comparison with Salisbury Missal. See, too, Cardwell's "Liturgies," and Scudamore's "Notitia Eucharistica;" Dixon, ii. 513; and Articles in full, Cranmer's "Remains," 154 *sqq.* [For the complete text of the 1548 Order, see Maskell, "Ancient Liturgy of the Church of England," pp. 294–302. Procter gives a summary, pp. 336–339.]

[3] See his letters, "Original Letters," xix. p. 31.

[4] See his questions, ap. Dixon, ii. 513.

[5] See the book, Latin and English, edited by Burton, 1829. See the introduction by Burton, and Dixon, ii. 513 and f.n.

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to the bishops enjoining administration in both kinds, and on May 13 a letter was sent to licenced preachers charging them to suppress all innovations.[1]

Foreign events[2] concurred to disturb England. The *Augsburg Interim*, enforced in July, 1548, led to new arrivals of Protestants. Peter Martyr was already in England; Bucer now joined him with Fagius (a great Hebraist) and à Lasco the Pole (John Laski). It was already in Cranmer's mind to balance the Council of Trent by a Protestant synod,[3] and with this view he was attempting, as he told à Lasco,[4] by the help of learned foreigners, to "do away with all doctrinal controversies and build up an entire system of true doctrine."[5] But Melanchthon certainly did not come, and the other foreigners could hardly have reached England before the new Prayer-book was far advanced, if not completed.

Towards the end of September (23rd) *a new proclamation* appeared, inhibiting preachers and recommending the people to "a patient hearing of the godly Homilies," that they may be fitted to receive "a most quiet, godly, and uniform order to be had throughout all the realm."[6] This was the FIRST PRAYER-BOOK OF EDWARD VI.[7]

[1] Both in Cranmer's "Remains," pp. 511, 512.

[2] Influence of foreigners. See Dixon, ii. 521–528; Perry, pp. 203, 204, and note A.; Blunt, ii. 162–170.

[3] See his letter written four years later to Bullinger, Cranmer's "Remains," p. 431.

[4] See *ibid.*, letter 285, p. 420.

[5] His letters to Hardenberg, Bucer, and Melanchthon, inviting them to England, are extant. *Ibid.*, letters 286, 287, 289, p. 422, *sqq.*

[6] "Documentary Annals," vol. i. ch. xiii.; Cranmer's "Remains," p. 513.

[7] [It has been often reprinted. For the complete text, see Mr. James Parker's large edition (where the successive revisions are compared), and also his shilling edition of the First Book only. The Communion Office may also be found in an abstract in Procter, pp. 339–345, and complete in Maskell's "Ancient Liturgy," pp. 303–333. For minute historical details as to its origin, and a comparison with later English Prayer-books, see Mr. J. Parker's "Introduction to the Revisions of the Book of Common Prayer."]

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LECTURE IX.

THE FIRST PRAYER-BOOK OF EDWARD VI. AND THE FIRST ACT OF UNIFORMITY (1549).

WHO were *the compilers?*

There are three theories.

(1) It is supposed by some to have been the work of *the commission proposed by Archbishop Cranmer* in 1543. But Canon Dixon has shown that this was never appointed.[1] Cranmer's proposal was that the Bishops of Salisbury (Capon) and Ely (Goodrich) were to take three each, to be appointed from and by the Lower House, for the "castigation" of mass-books, etc. But the Lower House refused to appoint.

(2) It has been assumed that *the commission of* 1540, which had been appointed by Crumwell just before his fall, was still sitting. It had produced the third Formulary, the "*Necessary Erudition,*" in 1543, which had been authorized by Convocatiôn and Parliament; and also the *Rationale,*[2] which had never received authority. *Burnet* assumes, without evidence, the existence of a liturgic commission, running on from Henry's reign to Edward's. *Archdeacon Freeman* has based an elaborate theory on this assumption. But the Privy Council, speaking of the appointment of the Windsor Commission, in 1548, as the result of the Act of 1547, ordering communion in both kinds, makes no mention of any existing commission. It is probable that Crumwell's commission of 1540 ceased to exist when it had produced the "Necessary Erudition." The *Rationale,* which had not been authorized, was probably that referred to by Convocation in 1547, and which had probably been suppressed by Cranmer. The answers to questions on the Mass probably date from 1547, and SEEM to have been given by Convocation, *i.e.* the whole Upper House and the Prolocutor of the Lower House, or

[1] ii. 315. [2] Which see ap. Collier, vol. ii. p. 191, etc.

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by the Prolocutor and such bishops, including three from the Northern Province, as were attending Parliament. They need have no connection either with the commission of 1540 or the Windsor Commission.[1]

(3) The third possibility is that *it was the work of the Windsor Commission,* appointed for the drawing up of the new Communion Office, and proceeding to a complete revision of the devotional system of the English Church.

It consisted of the archbishop, with six bishops and six doctors—

Archbishop Cranmer.	
Goodrich, Bishop of Ely Ridley, Bishop of Rochester Holbeach, Bishop of Lincoln	New Learning.
Thirlby, Bishop of Westminster Skip, Bishop of Hereford Day, Bishop of Chichester	Old Learning.
Dr. May Dr. Cox Dr. Taylor Dr. Haines (or Heynes)	Advanced Reformers.
Dr. Robertson Dr. Redman (or Redmayne), Master of Trinity College, Cambridge	Old Learning.

The materials out of which the Prayer-book was constructed were threefold—

(i.) The old service-books. (ii.) Cardinal Quignon's Breviary. (iii.) Archbishop Hermann's Consultation.

(i.) *The old service-books.*[2] These consisted of (α) the *Legenda,* or book of Lessons; (β) the *Antiphoner,* or book of Antiphons; and (γ) the *Psalterium,* or Psalter. These together made up the Breviarium or Portiforium. For Holy Communion four books were required—(α) An *Antiphoner* (commonly called Graduale); (β) the *Lectionary;* (γ) the book of *the Gospels;* and (δ) the *Sacramentary.* Of these the Lectionary was known as the Epistolarium, the book of

[1] Dixon, ii. 476, f.n.

[2] See Maskell, "Mon. Rit.," I. iii., *sqq.*; Procter, pp. 8, *sqq.*

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the Gospels as the Evangelistarium; while the Liber Sacramentorum included the rites necessary for the other Sacraments, as well as for the Holy Eucharist.[1]

Besides these we have the *Ordinale*, or the Pie, regulating the devotions of the Canonical Hours; and the *Consuetudinary*, which contained the rules for conventual and monastic houses. The *Manuale* included the Occasional Offices; the *Pontificale* contained the Ordinal, etc.; the *Pœnitentiale* had the rules for priests in imposing penance; and the *Processionale*, rubrics and offices for processions, etc.

To which may be added "The Little Office" and the Prymers which gave in English the Hours, Litany, and private devotions, as well as the Paternoster, Credo, Commandments, and Ave Mary.[2]

(ii.) *Quignon's Breviary.*[3] The burden of this mass of books was complicated by the variety of Uses, and Rome had herself suggested a reformed Breviary. In 1535, by the command of Pope Clement VII., the Cardinal of Santa Croce, Cardinal Quignon, undertook to "castigate" the Breviary. He swept away two-thirds of the Saints' Days, omitted all the offices of B. V. M., and very greatly simplified the services.[4] The Roman Breviary was afterwards reformed by a committee of the Council of Trent, and authorized by a bull of Pius V. (1568), by which Quignon's Breviary, and all others except those which can claim two hundred years' prescription, were abolished. Quignon's Breviary we shall find supplying the new Prayer-book with the Preface "Concerning the Service of the Church."

(iii.) *Hermann's Consultation.*[5] The "*Simplex ac pia deliberatio*" [in German 1543, in Latin 1545] was more of a directory than a Breviary. It ignores the Canonical Hours,

[1] [The contents of these books, so far as they related to the Mass, were commonly brought together into one volume, the *Missal.*]

[2] See Maskell's Prymer of 1400, "Mon. Rit.," III. p. xxxvi.

[3] Quignon's Breviary. See a copy of the second recension in Magdalen College Library, dated 1537. [See a learned article on this Breviary in No. 54 of the *Church Quarterly Review*, January, 1889.]

[4] Dixon, ii. 537, 538.

[5] There is a copy of this in Magdalen College Library.

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which Quignon had retained, gives some offices not divided into morning and evening services, and adds occasional offices. It had already provided the Windsor Commission with a great part of the Communion Service now added to the Mass.

The result as shown in the Prayer-book of 1549.—The great work of the reformers of the English Breviary was to separate what was primitive from what was of later introduction, and also to give an English missal which should retain its historical structure and yet be adapted for a service in which the Communion was to be more prominent than the Sacrifice, which no one denied.

[The lecture ends rather abruptly with some pencil jottings, which are replaced by the following expansion of the same headings which is found in a pupil's note-book :—]

On the side of gain, there was the return to primitive usage, and the translation into the vulgar tongue. On the other hand, there was a depressed tone about the book, a lower tone of devotion, due largely to the communicative spirit of the Reformers,[1] and their desire to throw everything open to the people, and to eliminate the mystery which had been abused. Hence loss of congregational worship in the attempt to keep it. No obscurantism. Dixon[2] probably makes too much of the order to say or sing the Canon plainly and distinctly.

As Mattins and Evensong had always been "ecclesiastical"—Prime, etc., purely monastic—so in the First Prayer-Book, the monastic use was observed, as far as the monastic hours are taken up into Mattins and Evensong.[3]

(1) As to the *Mass*, the words of administration were the first sentence of our present form. Interpreting this by contemporary documents, even Acts of Parliament, we can show that this meant, and was meant to mean, a recognition of the Real Presence. We can only prove this by examining contemporary ideas. That it was so understood is shown by the fact that these words were later not modified, but dropped. (Tendency already to draw a distinction between the *fact* of the Presence and the *theory* of Transubstantiation.)

[1] Dixon, vol. iii. pp. vi. and 17. [2] iii. 33. [3] Dixon, ii. 539.

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(2) *Ritual.* If we wanted further confirmation that the Mass was practically unchanged, we may appeal to the list of vestments ordered (the rubrics become scheduled on to an Act of Parliament). This is important as proving that the association of vestments with Eucharistic doctrine was then as close as it is now.

(3) With regard to *Confession*, Cranmer's Catechism is quite plain, both as to the right of confession and the power of the priest to absolve, but a serious blow was struck at the theory of necessary confession in the first exhortation prefixed to the 1548 Order of Communion. Here it is left to men whether they will use private confession or not, and appeal is made to charity that those who use confession should not blame those who do not, and the reverse—"in all these things to follow and keep the rule of charity." Cranmer's Catechism recommends private confession generally, but it was not made compulsory.

Authority of the First Prayer-book. It had the authority of an Act of Parliament—the first Act of Uniformity (2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 1 [1]). It had also Church authority. Here a difficult question arises. Had it synodical authority or not?

The consideration of the Book of Common Prayer was committed to a body of divines. Strype [2] quotes Abbot, the Archbishop of Canterbury (b. 1562), who says that it was confirmed by the Upper and Lower Houses of Convocation, and that Parliament ratified their decision. Add that Convocation was certainly sitting at the time, had previously asked for reformed service-books, and had authorized Cranmer to draw up the Order of Communion added in 1548 to the Mass. The Princess Mary objected (summer, 1549) to the book, but the Privy Council in their answer referred to the "uniform determination of the whole clergy consulted." When the Devonshire rebels about the same time opposed

[1] [Notice that this Act applied to the clergy and their lay abettors only, and not to laymen. See Dixon, iii. 3, 431; for text of statute, "Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," vol. i. pp. 220–222.]

[2] "Ecclesiastical Memorials," ii. part i. p. 87.

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its introduction, the king stated in his answer that the book was "by the whole clergy agreed."[1]

Dixon[2] opposes this view, for he says that the book was never approved by either Convocation. But Bishop Stubbs remarks[3] that it is "important to observe that the First Prayer-book of Edward VI. was accepted by the Convocation;" that on November 30, 1547 (during progress of the Prayer-book Bill in the Lords), the Convocation voted the lawfulness of communion in two kinds, and on December 17, 1547, it voted the lawfulness of the marriage of priests.

LECTURE X.

OTHER ECCLESIASTICAL STATUTES (1549)—REFORMATIO LEGUM ECCLESIASTICARUM (1549–1552).

THE Parliament which passed the first Act of Uniformity enforced *the observance of Lent* in terms identical with those adopted by the proclamation the year before, January 16, 1548 (2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 19), and in a later session gave legal sanction to *the marriage of priests* (2 & 3 Edw. VI. c. 21). This had been passed in Convocation more than a year before, December 17, 1547, by a majority of fifty-three to twenty-two;[4] but, though it had passed the Commons, it was lost in the Lords.[5] *The attainder of Thomas Seymour*[6] (2 & 3 Edw. c. 18) was passed March 5, and Somerset's fall occurred in the autumn of this year (October 11–December 28). Meanwhile the many changes in religious matters, the new service-

[1] [See the evidence conveniently collected in Lord Selborne's "Defence," pp. 53–56.]

[2] iii. 5–7, 127, 130, 146, 161.

[3] "Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," i. 142, 143.

[4] See Cardwell's "Synodalia," ii. 424.

[5] See Dixon, ii. 475. [See Bishop Stubbs' "Report of Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," p. 143.]

[6] Burnet notices the fact that Cranmer, in defiance of the canon law, affixed his signature to the death-warrant.

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book, and the suppression of the chantries combined with agrarian discontent to throw England into a state of insurrection.[1] The chief opposition was in Devonshire and Cornwall; the rebels, however, were pardoned on June 20. The king is said[2] to have explained that the new Prayer-book was only the old books in an English dress; the answer to which was that Cornishmen did not understand *English*.[3]

The fall of Somerset and the rapid rise of Warwick made many hope for a return to the old religion, but such hopes were speedily crushed by an *Act of the Parliament* (3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 10) which met on November 4, 1549. By this Act (passed about February 1) the mandate of the previous year (February 24, 1548) *against images* was made law, and, at the same time, a king's order, which had been published on December 25, 1549, was extended and enforced. The king's order[4] ordered that all "antiphoners, missales, grayles,[5] processionalles, manuelles, legendes, pies, portuises, journalles, and ordinalles after the use of Sarum, Lincoln, Yorke, and any other private use" are to be brought in and defaced, so that they may not hinder the reception of the Book of Common Prayer, and the necessity of this is definitely connected with the fact that "dyvers unquyette and evil disposed persons sithence the apprehension of the Duke of Sommersett, have noysed and bruted abroad, that they should have agayne theire olde Lattenne Service," etc.[6] The Act makes an exception in favour of any king, prince, or nobleman who has not been accounted a saint, whose image on a tomb may be left undefaced, and also excepts from the Act the Primers of

[1] First effects of the Act of Uniformity (see Dixon, iii. 43–95) and other risings. New Heresy Commission (*Ibid.*, iii. 40, 41).

[2] Foxe, "Acts and Monuments," vi. 8, 34.

[3] See for the demands of the rebels, Strype's "Cranmer," ii. 185; and for the fifteen Articles of the Cornish rebels and Cranmer's answers, see Cranmer's "Remains," pp. 163, *sqq.* See also Dixon, iii. 56, *sqq.*

[4] Which see in "Documentary Annals," I. xx. See Dixon, iii. 160.

[5] ["The grayle or gradual contained, often with the notation also, the various introits, offertories, communions, graduals, tracts, sequences, and other parts of the service" (Maskell, "Ancient Liturgy," Int. v.). For the other books see Procter, pp. 9–11.]

[6] "Documentary Annals," i. 86.

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Henry VIII. on condition that the Invocation of Saints be omitted and defaced.

(Curiously enough, the books were not destroyed to any great extent in this reign, but in Mary's time, when the old books, having been defaced so far as the allusions to the Pope and the Invocation of Saints was concerned, were destroyed, in order that new ones might be substituted.)

In the same Parliament, which sat till February 1, 1550, two other important Acts were passed.

3 *&* 4 *Edw. VI. c.* 11 appointed[1] *a commission of thirty-two* to revise the canon law, or, as was stated in the Act, "to peruse and make Ecclesiastical Laws." This was a change on the old commission which Convocation had asked the king to revise. According to the Act of Henry VIII. (25 Hen. VIII. c. 19, Act of Submission), which had been repeated so far as the commission went in 1536 (27 Hen. VIII. c. 15), and in 1544 (35 Hen. VIII. c. 16), the thirty-two were to be appointed not to codify ecclesiastical law, but to revise the canon law,[2] and determine which laws were contrary to the royal prerogative. This was at the request of and in the interests of the clergy, who, on the one hand, were bound by the canon law, and on the other were in constant danger, by their obedience to it, of being brought under Præmunire. The Act of Submission still recognized the authority of the canon law except where it contradicted the statute law. The commission of Edward VI.'s reign, however, was for the "collection, compiling, and ordering," *i.e.* codifying, of ecclesiastical law, and the result was the *Reformatio Legum.*[3]

The commission was nominated on October 6, 1551, but soon after a committee of eight was empowered "to rough-hew the canon law, the rest to conclude it afterwards." A com-

[1] The Act was passed in the end of 1549, but the nomination was not made till October 6, 1551, when two out of the three years were gone. The new commission was dated February 2, 1552 (Dixon, iii. 351, 439.)

[2] On the canon law, see *ibid.*, iii. 354, etc.; and on the English canon law, *ibid.*, p. 361.

[3] Which see, ed. Ox., 1851. See, too, some selections from Roman canon law, apparently gathered out of it with a view to the earlier recension by Cranmer ("Remains," pp. 68, *sqq.*). For Cranmer as a canonist, see Dixon, iii. 366, etc.

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mission of eight instead of thirty-two was issued on November 11, and another was issued in February 2, 1552, the old commission having expired at the end of the three years.[1] On this commission Peter Martyr was the most active member.[2] The result of the commission was a new set of ecclesiastical laws, conceived in a narrow and bigoted spirit, which neither Convocation nor Parliament ever accepted.[3] An abortive attempt to revive the *Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum* was made in Queen Elizabeth's reign (1571), but the work remained as a "*laborious fiasco*," or a "wandering clot of legislation."[4] The Latin is said to be the work of Dr. Haddon and Sir John Cheke.

The other Act of this Parliament (3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 12) authorized *by anticipation* a *new Ordinal*. The commission appointed for this was probably that which finally completed the Prayer-book, with the exception of Bishop Day of Chichester, who had refused to sign the Prayer-book, though he was willing to obey and use it, Heath of Worcester taking his place. On September 9, 1548, Bishop Ferrar was consecrated to St. David's with the old Pontifical. The Act for the new Ordinal was passed on January 31, 1550; the Ordinal itself was to appear before April 1, and was actually ready a month before. The commission was appointed February 2,[5] and the Ordinal was finished and signed by all the twelve commissioners, except Heath of Worcester,[6] who protested, as did Bishop Day in the previous commission.

[1] See, on these commissions, Burnet, ii. 196; Dixon, iii. 352, f.n.; Blunt, ii. 112, *sqq*. The commission of eight consisted of the Archbishop of Canterbury, Bishop of Ely, Dr. Cox, Peter Martyr, Dr. May, Dr. Taylor, John Lucas, and Richard Gooderick. On November 11 the Bishop of Ely was substituted for Ridley, Dr. May for Traheron, and Gooderick for Gosnall.

[2] See "Original Letters," ccx. p. 447, February 5, 1552, and a letter of Peter Martyr's, *ibid.*, ccxxxvi. p. 503.

[3] A letter of Peter Martyr's (*ibid.*, No. ccxxxvi, p. 503) gives an account of their debates, according to which it seemed as if they fancied they were having a little Council of Trent by themselves.

[4] Dixon, iii. 159; Blunt, ii. p. 115; Perry, pp. 216, 297; Heylyn, i. 174, 175. See Burnet's summary of the "Reformatio Legum," ii. 197–199. For a comparison with the English canon law, see Dixon, iii. 368, etc.

[5] *Ibid.*, iii. 195, f.n.

[6] Procter, p. 31.

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LECTURE XI.

THE ENGLISH ORDINAL (1550).

[The earlier portion of this lecture was actually given with Lecture X., but it has been thought best to put together all that relates to the Ordinal.]

THE ORDINAL completed the new English Prayer-book, though it was not as yet a part of it.[1] The Ordinal, though the commission was not issued till February 2, 1550, legally dates back to 1549, because it was authorized by anticipation just before Parliament was prorogued (February 1), and therefore dates from the first day of the Parliament, viz. November 4, 1549. Ferrar was consecrated, September 9, 1548, with the old Pontifical. Poynet, the first bishop consecrated (to Rochester, June 29, 1550) by the Ordinal, succeeded Gardiner at Winchester (deprived February 14, 1551). The Prayer-book contained, besides a Kalendar and Table of Lessons and Psalms—1. The Order for Morning and Evening Prayer; 2. Collects, Epistles, and Gospels for the Year; 3. The Communion Office; 4. The Litany; 5. The Occasional Offices, Baptism, Confirmation, Matrimony, Visitation of the Sick, Burial of the Dead, Churching, together with the Commination Service, and some explanatory notes, amongst which the present preface "Of Ceremonies" appeared. This First Prayer-book, as compared with that of 1552 and the mediæval offices, we shall attempt to discuss in detail if time allow.[2]

The Ordinal, however, requires special examination, which may the more easily be given now, because it was first promulgated in substantially the same form as that in which

[1] For the original of the Ordinal (1550) see "Liturgies of Edward VI.," pp. 159, etc.; revised Ordinal of 1552, *ibid.*, pp. 332, etc. [The former is reprinted textually, and the variations of 1552 noted, in Mr. Parker's large edition of the First Prayer-book of Edward VI., pp. 417–467.]

[2] Meanwhile see Procter, 35, *sqq.*; [Mr. Parker's works referred to under First Prayer-book;] Blunt, ii. 94, *sqq.*, and the Prayer-book Interleaved. [Mr. Parker has published a shilling edition of the text.]

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we now have it, the most important omission in 1552 being the delivery of the chalice and paten.

The whole question as to Anglican Orders turns now upon the sufficiency of this Ordinal of 1550. When the Nag's Head bubble burst, as it did on the discovery of the Lambeth register, and when the second line of attack, the jurisdiction of the consecrating bishops, was practically abandoned, the question was brought back to the reign of Edward VI. Were the Edwardian bishops really and validly consecrated? Could they have been when the Ordinal of 1550 was substituted for the Pontifical? And even if the words of the Ordinal were sufficient, was the intention of those who used it the intention of a Roman Catholic bishop? Here, strangely enough, Roman Catholics and ultra-Protestants join hands in their anxiety to prove that the Church of England, after the Reformation, was not a Church, but a Protestant sect.[1]

To take the Ordinal itself first. If we compare it, step by step, with the Salisbury Pontifical, we find—

(i.) *The forms for admission to minor orders disappear.*

The minor orders had, long before the Reformation, practically fallen into disuse, though they lingered on in the universities, possibly in view of the benefit of clergy.[2] These minor orders varied considerably. In England, in the Anglo-Saxon period, there were *five* recognized—ostiarius, lector, exorcista, acoluthus, and subdiaconus.[3] The receiving of the tonsure was not strictly an order: "*prima tonsura non est ordo, sed dispositio ad ordinem;*" and, similarly, the episcopate was "*non ordo proprie, sed dignitas sive excellentia in ordine.*"[4] The central point of Orders was the "sacerdotium," which

[1] See Hutton, "The Anglican Ministry;" "Romanism, Protestantism, and Anglicanism," by Oxoniensis; and an article in No. 10 of the *Church Quarterly Review* for January, 1878, on the Anglican Ordinal.

[2] Maskell, ii., Introduction, p. cxvi.

[3] See their duties, *ibid.*, ii. p. cxvii., and f.n. Cf., too, p. xcii.

[4] So St. Thomas Aquinas says, "*Episcopatus non est ordo;*" and see other quotations, *ibid.*, ii. p. xciii. Notice the curious fact that Ultramontanism and Protestantism agree in blurring the line which separates bishops from priests, the former in the interests of Popery, the latter in the interests of Presbyterianism. It is by no means the only case in which the Roman Catholic and the anti-Cathol[ic] fight side by side against the Catholic view.

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belonged to both priests and bishops, though certain special powers, such as ordaining, confirming, etc., were restrained to bishops. In the English Church, the subdiaconate was the highest of the minor orders and disappeared with them, leaving only the greater orders, the diaconate and the priesthood.[1] The Council of Trent recognized three greater orders—subdeacon, deacon, and priest; but of the minor orders mentioned only four—acolyte, exorcist, lector, and doorkeeper,[2] and anathematized those who say there are no orders besides the "sacerdotium." All these were steps to the priesthood: "*ordines per quos, velut per gradus quosdam, in sacerdotium tendatur.*"[3]

The English Church followed its own use in holding the subdiaconate to be one of the minor orders. These being rejected,[4] the Ordinal contains only the forms for the making and consecrating of bishops, priests, and deacons.

(ii.) *Greater or sacred orders.* Did the Church in retaining these omit what was essential, and make the rite invalid?

Now, a rite can only be invalid when (*a*) the matter or (β) the form are incomplete, supposing the administrator be qualified to perform the rite. What is the necessary matter and form of ordination? It is plain that any words, or manual acts, or ceremonies which are not universal cannot be necessary. Prayer and laying on of hands have in all ages accompanied ordination. Can we find any form of words used, or any symbolical acts performed universally, even in the Western Church? If not, to make these essential

[1] See the old Salisbury use in Maskell, ii.—ostiarius, p. 172; lector, p. 175; exorcist, p. 179; acolyte, p. 182; and subdeacon, p. 189.

[2] Sess. xxiii. caput ii.

[3] Council of Trent, sess. xxiii., Canon ii.

[4] On the rejection of minor orders, see Hutton, "Anglican Ministry," p. 150. "We will not say more (and we cannot say less) than this, that it was a profane act, calculated to arouse the gravest suspicions as to the soundness of their faith in the Sacrament of Holy Order, and in the end to which it was instituted. More than this need not be said; for theologians hold that their reception is not a necessary preliminary to the validity of sacred orders afterwards conferred, though in practice they are never omitted." He admits the same of the subdiaconate, which he allows originally was not a sacred order, nor is it such now in the East (f.n. to p. 150).

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is to destroy the succession. On the other hand, as "other theologians" admit, "what suffices anywhere must be allowed as sufficient everywhere, though not necessarily lawful." [1]

The form for the making of deacons, if we compare it step by step with the Salisbury Pontifical,[2] is so essentially the same, that the only charge which can be brought against it is that the parallel between the deacon and the Levite is not referred to definitely, and the stole and dalmatic are no longer given.[3] This piece of symbolism, wisely or unwisely, but certainly deliberately, was omitted; but the omission did not imply of necessity the ignoring of the office which it symbolized. It was in keeping with the giving the ostiarius a key, the lector a book, the exorcist a book of exorcisms, the acolyte a taper-stand (*ceroferarium*) and ewer (*urceolus*), the subdeacon an empty chalice and paten, together with the *aquamanile* and ewer. With regard to the omission of reference to the Levites, so far as this implied ministering at the altar, it is included in the summary of the office of a deacon.[4] But, as Mr. Hutton admits,[5] the office of deacon is relative to that of priest. It is an assistant ministry, and "what the character of that assistance is will depend on the character of the ministry to which it is afforded."

We come, then, to the question, *What are the essentials of priestly ordination besides the qualification of him who ordains?* The twenty-fifth Article of the Church of England includes Orders among "those five commonly called Sacraments" which "have not any visible sign or ceremony ordained of God." The Formularies of Faith speak of "imposition of the bishop's hands" ("Necessary Doctrine"): "of prayer and the imposition of the bishop's hands" ("Institution").[6] The same in Cranmer.[7] Romanists admit this. "The Sacrament of Holy Order was not, so far as we can learn from

[1] Hutton, p. 164.
[2] As Blunt does, "Annotated Prayer-Book," p. 658.
[3] See Hutton, p. 151: "The Anglican formulary has cut out all allusion to the Levitical character of the diaconate; the stole and dalmatic are absent."
[4] See the two put side by side in Blunt, "Prayer-Book," p. 680.
[5] Page 151. [6] Pages 277 and 104 of "Formularies of Faith."
[7] Quoted ap. Travers Smith, p. 28.

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the gospel narrative, made by Christ to depend on any one outward and visible sign, or on any one form of words."[1] The regulation of its matter and form appear to have been left to the Church. The Council of Trent (Sess. xxii. ; ch. i. and ch. iv. Can. 4) states that the power to consecrate and offer the Holy Sacrifice was given by Christ in the words, "*Do this in remembrance of Me*," while the absolving power was given in the words, "Receive ye the Holy Ghost," which was accompanied by the act of breathing on them. The first ordination, after our Lord's Ascension, certainly implied the laying on of hands whatever words were used ; and though even this was not, so far as we know, ordained of God, it has naturally been universally adopted. The words "*Accipe Spiritum Sanctum*," and "Whose sins thou dost forgive," etc., are found in the Salisbury Pontifical, as in the English and the Roman. The act of "breathing on the ordinands" is only found in some obscure Greek sects.[2] The words "Do this in remembrance of Me" have never been adopted as "the form" of ordination. The giving of the sacred vessels was a part of the Salisbury as of the Roman ritual, and was omitted in the English Ordinal, and, if it can be shown to be essential, would invalidate Anglican Orders.

In the Salisbury, as in the Roman Use, the bishop and attendant priests lay their hands upon the head of the ordinand *in silence;* then, after some prayers, the ordinand is invested with stole and chasuble; then follows the *Veni Creator*, and the anointing of the hands ; then *the giving of the sacred vessels*, with the words, "Receive power to offer sacrifice to God, and to celebrate Mass for the living and the dead ;" then, after the communion of the newly ordained priests, the bishop again lays his hands on the head of each with the words of our present Ordinal, "*Accipe Spiritum Sanctorum : quorum*," etc.

Of this beautifully symbolical ritual, what is essential to the rite besides the laying on of the bishop's hands ?

Four views have been held :—(i.) Historical view. That which is essential is the silent laying on of hands, followed

[1] Hutton, p. 160. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 161, but ?

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by prayer. (ii.) Scholastic view. That where there is no "*traditio instrumentorum*" there is no true ordination. (iii.) Bellarmine's. That the laying on of hands, with the words "*Accipe*," etc., is essential as well as the "*traditio*." (iv.) Tournely's.[1] That the "*Accipe*" is *the* essential, and may constitute a valid ordination, even without the "*traditio*."

That laying on of hands, with prayer or words implying a prayer, is essential, is universally admitted. Is anything else? Roman Catholic authorities are disagreed. The Schoolmen generally inclined to make the "*traditio instrumentorum*" essential to the valid ordination,[2] and Pope Eugenius IV. (1431–1447), in his Epistle to the Armenians,[3] lays this principle down. But the giving of the chalice and paten cannot be traced back earlier than the tenth century, and in England it does not appear before the eleventh century.[4] If, therefore, the giving of the chalice and paten is essential to the priesthood, there were no priests before the tenth century, and in England none till the eleventh.

The view that the words "*Accipe*," etc., are equally essential is defended by *Bellarmine*, on the ground that the Council of Trent so declared. The council, however, only anathematized (Sess. xxiii. Can. iv.) those who said that the words "*Accipe*," etc., were useless. Bellarmine declares that then the priests are ordained when the words "*Accipe*," etc., were said, and therefore the second imposition of hands *was essential*. But this "*Accipe*," etc., has not been traced back in any Pontifical earlier than the twelfth century. All the earlier Pontificals ignore the second imposition of hands and the "*Accipe*,"[5] and we are therefore led to the conclusion that

[1] See Hutton, p. 100.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 246. The "*traditio instrumentorum*" was retained in the first Ordinal, and combined with the giving of the Bible. On the revision in 1552, the "*traditio*" was omitted.

[3] *Church Quarterly Review*, 1878, p. 265.

Moreover, the Council of Florence, in the fifteenth century, recognized the validity of Oriental Orders conferred without the giving of the chalice and paten (see Hutton and his note upon this, p. 142, f.n.). This Florentine council was a continuation of the Council of Basle, and is recognized by the Greeks as the Eighth Œcumenical Council.

[4] See Blunt's "Prayer-Book," p. 691, f.n., and Maskell, ii. 226, f.n.

[5] See here Maskell, "Mon. Rit.," ii. 231, 232, and f.nn.

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in the Salisbury and Roman Missals the ordination was completed by the first imposition of hands in silence. Our Ordinal has retained the "*Accipe*," though not essential, and added it to the first imposition of hands, which is essential. There is then in our Ordinal, as in the ancient Pontificals, only one imposition of hands, and this is accompanied by the words interpretative of the meaning of the ordination, though not essential to it.

The question of intention.—But many Roman controversialists, in face of these facts, incline to the view that the actual forms of the English might possibly be valid,[1] only it is hopelessly invalidated by the lack of "intention" on the part of the ordaining bishops. If they did not mean to ordain priests, the mere words, it is argued, could not make priests; and that they did not mean to make priests is proved by the omission of what was inseparably bound up in those days with the priestly commission, the giving of the chalice and paten, and the putting on the priestly vestments.

Now, "intention" is a difficult test to apply. What was the "intention" of the Apostles when they ordained priests? Not, the makers of the English Ordinal would say, the ordaining of "mass-priests," as the Roman Church understood the term. The "*traditio instrumentorum*" symbolized that one part of the priestly duty which the mediæval Church had made everything, and therefore came to be thought the essential. According to the Church of England, the celebrating the holy mysteries was an essential part of the priest's office, but not the whole. The function of *teaching* was essential, for "the priest's lips should keep knowledge."[2] The power of the keys was an essential part too; the duty of

[1] "So far as the material words of the Edwardine forms go, they are sufficient; *i.e.* they are words capable of being used in a sense in which they would be sufficient; but the words are ambiguous" (American *Catholic World*, quoted ap. Hutton, p. 168).

Tournely, a doctor of the Sorbonne (quoted by Hutton, p. 100), decides against both Schoolmen and Bellarmine, that the actual "form" of ordination is "*Accipe*," etc., and decides that though the Anglican Ordinal retains these words, they do not bear the orthodox (= Roman) sense.

[2] Malachi ii. 7.

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preaching, of blessing, of baptizing, all of which, in the old Pontifical, were spoken of as part of the priest's duty, were, in fact, all overshadowed by the "offering of the Mass." And the Church of England deliberately restored the lost balance. Its "intention" may be gathered from the summary of the priest's duties in the ordination formula, and from the preface to the Ordinal, while the "intention" of individuals must be subordinated to and overruled by that—"*intentio generalis, quâ vult quod Christus instituit, prævalet intentioni provenienti ex errore privato.*" [1] While, therefore, it is obvious that a rite performed by a bishop in jest, if such a thing were possible, or when he was mad, or drunk, or in any sense irresponsible, would be invalidated, it would not be invalidated so long as the authorized form was used, because his private opinion differed from the intention of the Church. By using the Church's "form" he so far submits his intention to hers in the ministerial act.[2] The difficulties involved in the theory that the validity of the rite depends on the intention of the "individual" are shown in Hutton,[3] and the parallel is easily traced in the Roman Church. On this theory, "the strength of a chain being that of its weakest link," the want of intention will invalidate not only the act, but all others that owe their validity to that act.

The intention of the Church of England is clearly stated in the preface to the Ordinal: "It is evident," etc.; and the Ordinal is put forward "to the intent that these Orders may be continued, and reverently used and esteemed, in the Church of England." "We have here a distinct witness to the generally good intention with which the Anglican Ordinal was devised."[4] It was the intention of the Church to hand on that Divine succession which she believed her then bishops, priests, and deacons possessed. It was not her intention to continue that onesided, and therefore false, view which had obtained in the mediæval period. The ministry instituted by Christ was not lost by the Roman Church, but its truth and meaning was obscured. If we ask what was the Church of

[1] Bussembaum, ap. Hutton, p. 176. [2] See *ibid.*, pp. 176, 177.
[3] Page 209. [4] Hutton, p. 145.

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England's conception of a priest, and put it side by side with that of the Salisbury Pontifical, we get this result:—

Sacerdotem oportet offerre, benedicere, præesse, prædicare, conficere, et baptizare.	Receive the Holy Ghost, etc. Whose sins thou dost forgive, etc. And be thou a faithful Dispenser of the Word of God, and of His holy Sacraments; In the Name, etc.
Accipe Spiritum Sanctum: quorum peccata, etc.	Take thou Authority to preach the Word of God, and to minister the holy Sacraments in the Congregation, where thou shalt be lawfully appointed thereunto.

Here we get, in both, the administration of the two great Sacraments, the stewardship of God's word, the power and commandment to preach. The power to absolve, which was in the Pontificals given after the Communion, with the "*Accipe*," is added by the English Ordinal. The "giving of the instruments" was omitted in the 1552 revision, the Bible only being given to each. To suppose that this meant to make preaching the sole duty of the English priest is to interpret the Ordinal by the spirit of Protestant formularies which are wholly different.[1]

The "intention" of the Ordinal, as of the Articles, is to be judged not only by what is said, but by what was consciously and deliberately rejected; and, judged by such standards, it intended to retain, and not to reject, the Apostolical Succession and the true priesthood of the Catholic Church.

On September 9, 1548, Bishop Ferrar was consecrated to St. David's with the old Pontifical. "Some months afterwards," according to Blunt,[2] "Cranmer held an ordination with the new Ordinal as it now stands." But (i.) the new

[1] See especially Bucer's *de ordinatione legitimâ ministrorum ecclesiæ revocandâ* ("Scripta Anglicana," p. 238); and see quotation in the *Church Quarterly Review*, January, 1878, p. 270.

[2] See Blunt, ii. 93, f.n.

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Ordinal was not completed till the spring of 1550, and was legalized by anticipation, not retrospectively; and (ii.) "the Ordinal as it now stands" is the revised Ordinal appended to the Prayer-book of 1552.

LECTURE XII.

FROM THE FIRST PRAYER-BOOK TO THE SECOND (FEBRUARY 1, 1550–JANUARY 23, 1552).

EDWARD VI.

WITH the completion of the Ordinal, the English liturgical reformation reached its climax. Though it had not probably received synodical authority, Convocation had suggested and authorized by anticipation a work of the kind. Gardiner, who was now in prison, spoke of it as "the Book of the King's Proceedings,"[1] yet said he would accept and enforce it, though it was not altogether to his mind. He was satisfied with the doctrine of the Sacrament. In the Ordinal his main objection was the omission of the unction.[2]

For nearly two years Parliament was prorogued, from February 1, 1550, to January 23, 1552, and in the interval a strong Puritan reaction was taking place, the result of which was that the first act of the new session was the passing another Act of Uniformity, which made the Second Prayer-book of Edward VI. authorized by law.

Bishop Bonner[3] had been deprived October 1, 1549, and was succeeded on April 12, 1550, by Nicholas Ridley, chaplain to Archbishop Cranmer.

Bishop Heath of Worcester, who was one of the committee engaged on the Ordinal, refused to sign it when it was complete, though he consented to use it. He was sent to the Fleet, March 4, 1550, where he remained till the next reign,

[1] Dixon, iii. 222. [2] *Ibid.*, iii. 223.
[3] Hooper speaks of Bonner as "the most bitter enemy of the Gospel" ("Original Letters," No. xxxv., p. 69)

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his see being a year afterwards taken charge of by Hooper, who was by that time Bishop of Gloucester.

Bishop Gardiner was deprived on February 14, 1551, his place being taken by Poynet.

Bishop Tunstall of Durham at the end of the same year (December 20, 1551) was sent to the Tower on a trumped-up charge of rebellion, the real reason being that the Duke of Northumberland coveted his lands. (See the Act passed in the year 1553 (6 & 7 Edw. VI. c. 17), which, owing to Edward's death, fell through.)

Bishop Day of Chichester was also deprived and imprisoned (see below), and there was no one to oppose the mob of Zwinglian opinions. The sees of Lincoln, Chichester, Hereford, and Bangor were vacant, apparently because no men of reforming views could be found of sufficient learning to fill them. Worcester for the time was held by Hooper, conjointly with Gloucester.

The Puritan attack was directed mainly against three things—*altars, vestments, and the Prayer-book.*

The attack was begun by *John Hooper*,[1] who for two years had been living at Zürich with Bullinger. He had been a Cistercian monk at Cleeve in Somerset till the Dissolution; left England for Strasburg in 1545, and in 1547 went on to Zürich. In May, 1549, he came back to England, was made chaplain to the Duke of Somerset,[2] and then to the king. He at once[3] began to attack the Prayer-book, which he thought a thing "to be borne with for the weak's sake awhile."[4] His strongly anti-sacerdotal line[5] led him to denounce kneeling at communion, and even to deny that sacra-

[1] See Blunt, ii. 95 *sqq.* Hooper, the "Father of Nonconformity" (Dixon, iii. 184, etc.). See, too, meaning of Nonconformity. "Nonconformity was caused by the premature issue of Hooper's letters patent" (*ibid.*, iii. 254). For Hooper's Presbyterianism, see *ibid.*, iii. 219 and quotation; wickedness of the bishops, "Original Letters," p. 55.

[2] Somerset sent to the Tower, October 13, 1549.

[3] December 27, 1549, "Original Letters," No. xxxvi., p. 72, and quote.

[4] Blunt, ii. 97.

[5] Hooper's *anti-sacramental views* ("Original Letters," No. cclxi., p. 563, May 28, 1550). His objection to the oath was that "the saints" were included (*ibid.*, p. 81, and see p. 559).

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ments "confer" grace, though he allowed that they "seal" or "testify to" grace. (Explain.) When nominated to the bishopric of Gloucester (April 7, 1550), he refused to take the oath or to be consecrated in the "Aaronic habits."[1] Cranmer refused to dispense with them, and though both Peter Martyr and Bucer[2] condemned him, Hooper refused to wear them (à Lasco alone supported him).[3] Hooper was forbidden to preach, and when he disobeyed was handed over to Cranmer, and early in 1551 (January 27) committed to the Fleet. On March 8, 1551, he gave way, and was duly consecrated at Lambeth in a scarlet chimere.[4] Hooper's opposition to the Prayer-book and the vestments[5] had made him the hero of the Puritan party, who were rapidly gaining strength. Ridley, on the other hand, who had tried to persuade Hooper to conform, was in disfavour with them.[6]

Nicholas Ridley, Bishop of Rochester, though he defended the vestments, had as early as 1549 begun to pull down the altars in his diocese.[7] Hooper thoroughly approved, and when, on April 1, 1550, Ridley was translated to London, hoped that he would destroy the "altars of Baal" there too.[8] While Hooper was disputing about vestments, Bishop Ridley was "visiting" his new diocese—"omission is prohibition" his maxim. This was between April 1 and June 28. It would seem from Bishop Ridley's injunctions[9] that the older ritual

[1] "Aaronic habits" ("Original Letters," No. xxxix., p. 87). For Peter Martyr's view, see *ibid.*, No. ccxxx., pp. 487, 488.

[2] *John ab Ulmis* (*ibid.*, p. 410) says, "I hear that great contests took place on each side respecting ceremonies and the vestments of the popish priests—I should have said of the stage-players and fools. Hooper at length gained his cause." He himself thinks the less said the better (*ibid.*, p. 91). The invocation of saints erased by Edward (*ibid.*, p. 416). For Hooper's objection, cf. *ibid.*, p. 81.

[3] *Ibid.*, No. xl., p. 95.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 271.

[5] See his letters to Bullinger, etc. ("Original Letters," Nos. xxxviii.–xlviii.), and those written before his consecration (letters Nos. xxi.–xxxvii.). The contest was between the council + bishops and Hooper + Zürich (*ibid.*, p. 573).

[6] On the quarrel between Hooper and Ridley, and its reconciliation in Mary's reign, see *ibid.*, No. ccxxx., p. 486, and f.n.

[7] Blunt, ii. 407; Dixon, iii. 199.

[8] "Original Letters," No. xxxviii., March 27, 1550.

[9] "Documentary Annals," i., No. xxi. p. 93.

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of the altar had survived, and was used with the new Prayer-book; that many priests "counterfeited the popish Mass" in various ways.[1] Moreover, there was already a divergence of use, some using an altar, some a table; and therefore the bishop, in his desire for a "godly unity," ordered that "the Lord's board, after the form of an honest table, decently covered," should be set up. This order, instead of securing godly unity, led to utter confusion, both as to the Lord's Table and its position; but the plan was adopted by the council by an order of November 24, 1550, which was sent to all the bishops.[2] Here, again, the desire for uniformity was the avowed object, and the result was confusion. The "honest table" became a board on trestles, with a dirty cloth on it, which the profane called an "oyster-table."[3] The reredoses were wrecked, and the "tables" put wherever was most "convenient." In St. Paul's Cathedral this had already been done on St. Barnabas' Day, June 11, 1550, under the superintendence of the bishop, who "brake down the wall standing then by the high altar's side."[4] This plucking down the altars, even in the early part of the year, seems to have been done under the council's influence; King Edward's journal on June 23, 1550, mentioning the fact that the Sheriff of Essex went "to see the Bishop of London's Injunctions performed, which touched plucking down of superaltaries, altars, and such-like ceremonies and abuses."[5]

Bishop Day of Chichester could not in conscience obey the council's order, and therefore he was committed to prison, December 10, 1550, as Gardiner, Bonner, and Heath had been, and as was done to Tunstall in the following year (December 20, 1551).[6]

[1] See "Documentary Annals," i. p. 93.
[2] See the Order in *ibid.*, i., No. xxiv. p. 100.
[3] Blunt, ii. 412. [4] *Ibid.*, ii. 410; Dixon, iii. 201.
[5] Blunt, ii. 410, from Foxe.
[6] For the case of Tunstall, see Dixon, iii. 467 and reff.

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LECTURE XIII.

THE INFLUENCE OF THE FOREIGNERS—THE SECOND PRAYER-BOOK.

THE attack on the Prayer-book, which had been begun by Hooper, was taken up by *the foreign refugees*, of whom a great number had now arrived in England. Of these, the most important were Bucer and Martyr, the two Regius Professors at Cambridge and Oxford respectively, Valerandus Pollanus, and John à Lasco. Besides these, Bullinger, the representative of Zürich, was in constant correspondence with the English Puritans, and exerted considerable influence on them. *Calvin*, in spite of his long letter to the Protector, October 22, 1548,[1] seems to have had but little weight in the construction of the Prayer-book. *Fagius*, a great Hebraist, who had been driven from Germany by the Interim, and had come with Bucer to England on April 25, 1549, was appointed Regius Professor of Hebrew at Cambridge, but died soon after, November 15, 1549.[2] His successor, also a refugee, was *John Emanuel Tremellio*, a Jew converted to Christianity by Pole, and perverted to Calvinism by Peter Martyr. Neither of these, however, seem to have exercised any overt influence on the Prayer-book.

Valerandus Pollanus [Pullain] had been pastor of the Church of Strangers at Strasburg, and had been driven thence, with his congregation of weavers, by the Interim. The Duke of Somerset offered them a home in the abbey buildings of Glastonbury, and while there Pullain published (February, 1551) their order of service in Latin, which is supposed to have furnished hints for the revised Prayer-book.[3]

John à Lasco, as early as 1548, had spent six months with

[1] See quotations from this and another letter undated, ap. Dixon, ii. 525; iii. 278. Calvin also wrote to the king, January 1, 1551 ("Original Letters," No. cccxxxvi.).

[2] See Cranmer's "Remains," letter ccxc., p. 425.

[3] Procter, p. 50; Dixon, iii. 236.

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Cranmer, and he returned from Friesland on May 13, 1550, to settle in England. He was appointed "superintendent," *i.e.* Presbyterian Bishop, of foreign Protestants in London, St. Augustine's monastery being put at his disposal. He was, however, a true bishop; nephew of an archbishop and legate, brother of the kingmaker of Hungary and of a bosom friend of Francis. The Walloon Church was an attempt on the part of Cranmer to save the Sacramentarians from Anabaptism.[1] He also published in Latin the form of service used by him.[2]

Peter Martyr,[3] an Augustinian prior, who had adopted reforming views, was made Regius Professor of Divinity at Oxford in 1549 (according to Blunt, he gave up the professorship because the undergraduates annoyed him,[4] but returned on being made a canon), and at once began to write against the doctrines of the First Prayer-book. His criticism of the book, written January 10, 1551, to Bucer, shows that he had little opportunity of being acquainted with it. He did not know English, and judged of it by a Latin version (by Cheke).[5]

Martin Bucer (his real name was Butzer, *not* Kuhhorn) gives an elaborate criticism,[6] which, while professedly an answer to Cranmer's request, really gathers up the adverse results arrived at by à Lasko, Martyr, Hooper, and himself. Bucer was appointed Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge in 1550, and on January 5, 1551, two months before his death (February 28, 1551), appeared the "Censura."

Bucer's Censure[7] is that of a moderate Lutheran, who, while objecting to everything in dress or gesture which implied "sacerdotalism," is willing to bear with them for a time.

[1] See Dixon, iii. 232–234.

[2] See Procter, p. 51.

[3] See Perry, p. 219; Blunt, ii. 165; Procter, p. 47.

[4] He lived near the great gate of Christ Church, leading to Fish Street. But the undergraduates broke his windows, and he moved to the cloister, where he fortified his garden. Dean Cox was not better loved. Dixon, iii. 245, f.n.

[5] See his letter to Bucer, ap. *ibid.*, iii. 280.

[6] For his views of the Eucharist, see *ibid.*, iii. 244, f.n.

[7] See Procter, pp. 44, *sqq.* On Bucer's "Censura" see Dixon, iii. 244, 282, etc., where he points out the changes in the Second Prayer-book for which the "Censura" is responsible. For his name see Haganbach, ii. 225.

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Every scenic practice is to be removed ; anything which may be superstitiously interpreted, *e.g.* the putting the wafer into the mouth, the benediction of the water in Holy Baptism, even the separation of the clergy and the laity in church, is to be done away. On the other hand, while rejecting all symbolism, there is a strong tendency to emphasize the "godly discipline" and everything which brings out the more Puritan side of truth, *e.g.* the Commination, which he would have oftener than once in the year, oftener even than the "General Sentence," which was read four times in the year.[1] Bell-ringing, and the keeping of festivals, except those of our Lord, and a few others, he objects to. Churches he would have closed to prevent irreverence. In the Ordination Service he would have more minute questions asked of the candidates, especially as to controverted points. There is little doubt that this criticism, approved by P. Martyr,[2] made a revision of the Prayer-book the great object with the advanced Reformers, and the year 1551 was devoted to the work. Bucer died on February 28, 1551, but Peter Martyr and John à Lasco remained. Cranmer, Ridley, Holgate, and Goodrich, with Peter Martyr, were, perhaps, mainly responsible for the Second Prayer-book. The archbishop[3] had by this time passed into his Zwinglian phase. The Zwinglian John ab Ulmis,[4] writing to Bullinger from London, August 18, 1548, accuses "Thomas" of having fallen into a heavy slumber. This was at the time of the publication of Cranmer's Catechism. Later on, in the same year, November 27, he reports that Thomas, "by the goodness of God, and the instrumentality of that most upright and judicious man, master John à Lasco, is in a great measure recovered from his dangerous lethargy." On the other hand, the bishops generally were opposed to these views.[5] (Jenkyns thinks it was Ridley, not à Lasco, who aroused Cranmer.)

[1] Compare this with the Commination Service, and see Cranmer's "Remains," p. 281, f.n.

[2] Strype's "Cranmer," ii. 462, quoted in Blunt, ii. 102, f.n. Peter Martyr's anti-Sacramental views objected to by the bishops, even *Gospellers* ("Original Letters," No. cclx. p. 561).

[3] Cranmer agreed with Hooper ("Original Letters," p. 71).

[4] "Original Letters," p. 380.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 383.

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(In 1551 Hamilton, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's, published his Catechism.[1]) The foreign Protestants were scheming to get influence, which end they generally attempted by dedicating books to those in authority in England;[2] Hooper, however, was in disfavour with Cranmer and Ridley.

Thus in the two years which immediately followed the publication of the First Prayer-book of Edward VI., we notice: (i.) a rapid elimination of those who were inclined to contend for a conservative and constitutional Reformation; and (ii.) a correspondingly rapid influx of foreign Protestants, whose only object was to assimilate the doctrine and discipline of the English Church to the sects of Zürich and Geneva. Bucer, for a time, represented the moderate Lutheran; but even he, if we may judge by the "Censura," had gone far to meet the "Helvetians."

We are not surprised, therefore, to find that the revision, under such influences, resulted in such a book as the PRAYER-BOOK OF 1552.[3] What part Convocation had in it, or whether it had any, is uncertain.[4] Joyce[5] says that Convocation met on October 14 and November 5, and John ab Ulmis, in the "Original Letters,"[6] speaks of Convocation as sitting on

[1] [For Mr. Moore's views as to this book, see his review of a recent reprint, *Guardian*, January 28, 1885.]

[2] See letters of John ab Ulmis, "Original Letters," p. 449, etc.

[3] [Mr. Parker has published a shilling edition of it. See generally the works referred to under the heading of the First Prayer-book.]

[4] Convocation met in 1551, while Parliament was prorogued (Heylyn our only authority for this), and mooted the question of Prayer-book revision.

Cardwell ("Synodalia," pref. x.) says Convocation was not allowed to pass judgment on the Second Prayer-book, because *it would have thrown all possible difficulties in the way of its publication.* [See Lord Selborne's "Defence," pp. 58–61, for a summary of the evidence one way and the other. Archbishop Bancroft, in his sermon, implies that Convocation had approved the Second Book, as does, perhaps, the thirty-fifth of the Forty-two Articles of 1533. Bishop Stubbs ("Report of Eccles. Courts Comm.," i. 143) thinks that the committee which revised the book may possibly have been a sub-committee of Convocation.]

Parliament should have met on November 4, but it was prorogued, probably on account of the sweating sickness, till January 23 (Peter Martyr in "Original Letters," No. ccxxxiv., p. 500). It is possible that Convocation was summoned by the same writ, and appointed the commission mentioned by John ab Ulmis (*ibid.*, No. ccix., p. 444). The commission consisted of the two archbishops, Ridley, Goodrich of Ely (afterwards Lord Chancellor), and Peter Martyr.

[5] Quoted by Perry, p. 211.

[6] Page 444.

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December 12. Parliament, however, did not meet till the next year, January 23, 1552, the day after the execution of the Duke of Somerset, and Convocation met on the 24th. The revised Prayer-book, and the Act of Uniformity (5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 1), authorizing[1] it, passed both Houses on April 14,[2] but was not to come into force till the next All Saints' Day. The printing of the book was suddenly stopped for further corrections; and, at the last moment, the "Declaration concerning kneeling at Communion," commonly called the Black Rubric, was added.[3] What did it mean? Probably not so much against Roman as Lutheran doctrine, which involved Ubiquitarianism. So the English Church was kept straight by antagonism. Lutheran theory as technical and rationalistic as the Roman, or worse.

The second Act of Uniformity (5 & 6 Edw. VI. c. 1) explained that there was nothing in the First Prayer-book which was not agreeable to the Word of God, but that doubts having been raised, it had been perused and made fully perfect.[4] The Ordinal of 1550 was revised and added to the Prayer-book.

The greatest change of doctrine was seen in the Communion Service. The earlier formula, "The Body of our Lord," etc., "The Blood of our Lord," which had been used in 1548 and 1549, is now exchanged for the Zwinglian formula, "Take and eat," "Drink," which implicitly denies the Sacramental Presence. Prayers for the Dead, the Anointing of the Sick, exorcism at Baptism, the threefold immersion, the Eucharistic vestments, were all omitted. Even kneeling at the Communion was apologized for; and even then, if God's providence had not ordered it otherwise, the Reformers would have gone further, and severed the last ties which bound the English Church with the Church of the Apostles.

The Second Prayer-book was authorized from November

[1] [See the text in the "Report of the Eccles. Courts Commission," i. 223, 224. Note that whereas the first Act of Uniformity applied to clerics and laymen who abetted them, the second applies to all recusants whatsoever. See Dixon, iii. 3, 431.]

[2] *Ibid.*, iii. 435, f.n.

[3] *Ibid.*, iii. 475 *sqq.*

[4] See the extract, apud *ibid.*, iii. 433, note.

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1, 1552, till the repeal of all Edward's ecclesiastical Acts in October, 1553, by Queen Mary.

Two other ecclesiastical documents of this reign remain to be noticed: (i.) the Forty-two Articles; and (ii.) Poynet's Catechism.[1]

[The manuscript breaks off abruptly here, and the following jottings are taken from the note-book of a pupil.]

(i.) *Forty-two Articles*, 1553.[2] Cf. the Ten Articles of 1536. Lutheran influence. Our Articles more influenced by Luther than Calvin, yet avoided all things Lutheran, and not Catholic. The Articles were not a summary of doctrine, but the decisions of the English Church on certain debated questions of the time. Behind these Articles lay the Creeds and the definitions of the first four General Councils. These are taken for granted, and the Articles in contrast with the Augsburg or Helvetic Confessions, which just dealt with certain views inconsistent with Catholic teaching. The Reformation not a reaction against Catholicism, but against its mediæval mode. The nearer it got to primitive Christianity the safer. If the Articles only treated of questions then in dispute, why do they speak of the Trinity, etc.? Because these doctrines *were* disputed at the time by Socinians and Anabaptists. Calvin later rejected the Nicene Creed, not in matter, but in form.

(ii.) *Poynet's Catechism*, 1553.[3] Good account of the Eucharist, but contains several propositions since abandoned. Transubstantiation at an end, says Peter Martyr, and shows dissension about grace through sacraments. Real or corporal presence as opposed to transcript [*sic*, circumscript] presence[4] out of heaven.

[1] Dixon, iii. 512–532.

[2] See H..rdwick's "History," and Laurence's "Bampton Lectures," on the English Articles supposed to be Calvinistic; Blunt, ii. 148, *sqq.*; also Dixon, iii. 513 *sqq.*, who holds that they had no synodical authority, against Cardwell, Hardwick, etc.

[3] See Liturgies published by the Parker Society; Dixon, iii. 528; and Procter, pp. 399, 400.

[4] Dixon iii. 524.

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LECTURE XIV.

QUEEN MARY'S ACCESSION AND ITS CAUSES.

THE five years of Ultramontanism under Queen Mary may be dealt with in less detail [than previous reigns] for two reasons:—

1st. Because they form an interlude in the natural development of the English Church; and

2nd. Because they marked the reversion to a type with which we are already familiar.

Still some questions naturally suggest themselves, such as—

What were the causes which led to a return to the Roman form of Christianity?

(i.) Undoubtedly the conservative tendency of the English people. Nothing could have made the cause of Romanism more popular than the fatal attempt to divert the succession in the interests of Protestantism. All the Succession Acts of Henry had tended only to alter the succession in the dim future. If Edward, Mary, and Elizabeth all died childless the descendants of the younger sister of Henry were to be preferred to those of the elder. But Edward's attempt, under Northumberland's guidance, to place Jane Grey on the throne above the rightful heirs was enough to alienate the sympathies of the people from Protestantism.[1]

(ii.) Strangely enough, the very same power which had co-operated with Henry to throw off the Roman Obedience co-operated with Mary to restore it. The strong insular and national feeling of England had resented the intrusion of "a foreign person," though he was clothed with the highest ecclesiastical authority of the Western world. Now foreign

[1] "They were Protestants chiefly that placed her in her kingdom" (Strype, "Ecclesiastical Memorials," vol. iii. part i. p. 11).

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persons of all sorts, with no authority whatever, with no object apparently but the assimilation of the ancient English Church to the modern Protestant and Presbyterian sects, were re-casting the doctrine and ritual and eliminating all the symbolism which was dear to the hearts of the people. The Second Prayer-book had hardly time to supplant the first before Edward's death, but if the First Prayer-book had stirred up rebellion which had only been appeased by the assurance that the new Prayer-book was only the old service-books translated and simplified, it is hardly likely that the Second Prayer-book would have been accepted without a murmur.

(iii.) No doubt, too, many smaller influences were at work. The tyrannical action of the council, their illegal treatment of the bishops of the Old Learning, and their intolerance towards the Princess Mary, the heir to the throne, joined no doubt, however illogically, with poverty and distress, of which the dissolution of the monasteries in the late reign was the actual cause, but which was only fully realized now, all helped to bring the new religion into disrepute. If "Articles to stablish Christian quietness" were necessary even in the year 1536, they were far more necessary after all the changes of Edward's reign, and the forty-two published in 1553 were hardly likely to assure Englishmen that they were not being handed over to the foreign refugees.

On the other hand, Mary was—

(*a*) A Papist, and claimed by the papal party, and her virtues exaggerated. They "highly extolled her"; and delighted to style her "Mary the Virgin."

(β) A woman, and women, according to Knox, ought not to rule,[1] especially if they were idolaters; for "in the midst of thy brethren shalt thou choose thy king, and not from among thy sisters." This tract ("Monstrous Regiment of Women") defeated its purpose, and Elizabeth would have nothing to do with the author because of it. [The sentences from "especially" are from a pupil's note-book.]

[1] Strype, "Ecclesiastical Memorials," III. i. p. 12.

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[From a pupil's note-book.]

At the end of Edward VI.'s reign there were three parties struggling—

(*a*) Those who protested against all reformation under Henry and Edward—the Roman party, not strong, but reinforced in the latter days of Edward by those who preferred a return to Rome to the adoption of a Protestant theology. Many preferred to be Roman Catholics rather than not be Catholics at all.

(*β*) The party of those in favour of the English Reformation which culminated in the First Prayer-book—the constitutional party, willing to renounce the Roman Obedience when this did not involve any sacrifice of what was primitive and Catholic.

(*γ*) Those, either foreigners or under foreign influences, whose object was to assimilate the Reformation in England to the Reformation in Switzerland.

THE PARLIAMENTS OF MARY'S REIGN, 1553-1558.

Regnal year begins July 6.

First Parliament. Sess. i. *October* 5–21, 1553.

1 Mary, st. i. c. 1. Annulling of Treasons Acts of Henry VIII.

Sess. ii. *October* 24–*December* 6, 1553.

1 Mary, st. ii. c. 1. Legitimation of Mary.

1 Mary, st. ii. c. 2. Repeal of nine ecclesiastical statutes of Edward VI.

1 Mary, st. ii. c. 3. Act for protection of Preachers.

1 Mary, st. ii. c. 12. Act against rebellious assemblies.

1 Mary, st. ii. c. 16. Attainder of Northumberland, Cranmer, etc.

Second Parliament. *April* 2–*May* 5, 1554.

1 Mary, st. 3, c. 1. Act for securing Royal Power.

1 Mary, st. 3, c. 2. Queen's marriage.

1 Mary, st. 3, c. 3. See of Durham reconstituted.

Marriage of Philip and Mary, July 25, 1554.

Third Parliament. *November* 12, 1554–*January* 16, 1555.

1 & 2 Philip and Mary, c. 6. Revival of H[illegible]

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1 & 2 Philip and Mary, c. 8. Act repealing all statutes against Rome.

Fourth Parliament. *October* 21–*December* 9, 1555.

2 & 3 Philip and Mary, c. 4. Tenths and first-fruits restored.

Fifth Parliament. *January* 20–*March* 7, 1558.

Death of Mary, November 17, 1558.

LECTURE XV.

RECONCILIATION OF ENGLAND WITH ROME.

DURING the five years of Mary's reign five Parliaments met, only one of which, the first, held a second session. Perhaps this is to be explained by the fact that it was not easy to find a Parliament willing to rescind the protective statutes against Rome.

In Mary's policy towards Rome two phases are marked, the first aiming only at a return to the English Church [as it was] at the end of Henry's reign, the second deliberately returning to a pre-Reformation date, 1529. The explanation is to be found in the "Spanish Match."

The question of legitimacy; religious belief;[1] cruel treatment in Edward's reign; attempt to disinherit her—all tended to concentrate her hatred on Cranmer and the side he represented, yet her first proclamation[2] was full of toleration. Though she "cannot now hide that religion which God and the world knoweth she hath ever professed from her infancy hitherto," yet she "mindeth not to compel any her subjects thereunto until such time as further order, by common assent, may be taken therein." Meanwhile people are exhorted to

[1] The Princess Mary in *Edward's reign*. Fears of her marriage with Spain as early as 1551 (see Blunt, ii. p. 171). The real controversy a religious one. But this intensified by the question of legitimacy. The Lady Mary's Mass. Orders of Council, June 16, 1549, and in 1551. Her loyalty to the Crown and her contempt for the council (see p. 183 in Blunt, vol. ii.). Dixon, iii. 145–147, 298–317.

[2] "Documentary Annals," i., No. xxviii.

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quietness, "leaving those new-found devilish terms of papist and heretic and such like," while the evil-disposed persons who without sufficient authority take upon themselves to preach and interpret the Word of God after their own brains are strictly commanded to cease. This proclamation is dated August 18, 1553.

At her coronation by Gardiner on October 1, a sermon on Transubstantiation was preached by Weston (Prolocutor), and high Mass sung in Latin.[1]

The liberation of the imprisoned bishops and of the great lay champions of the old religion soon showed what the "other order" to be taken was. Cranmer was hopelessly implicated in the Lady Jane Grey rebellion, and though he was not yet deprived, he was confined to his palace in Lambeth and soon after (September 14) committed to the Tower.

When Parliament met a month later and he was attainted of treason (by 1 Mary, st. ii. c. 16), he as a traitor lost his jurisdiction, and for three years, till Pole's consecration (March 22, 1556), the see of Canterbury *was vacant.* Gardiner naturally succeeded to the chief place in ecclesiastical matters. Gardiner, however, was by no means in favour of a return to Rome, and we may believe that a large proportion of Parliament agreed with him, for the scheme proposed in the first session was withdrawn. The jealousy between *Gardiner and Pole,* and the natural expectation of the former that he would succeed Cranmer, staved off for a time the advent of Pole.[2] Still Gardiner's policy implied a reversal of all the ecclesiastical changes of the late reign. He had consistently contended for the *status quo,* at least till Edward came of age, and his protests having been disregarded, he now proceeded to reverse the policy of his enemies. Gardiner restores religion to the *last year of Henry.* Pole goes back to the twentieth year, *i.e.* behind the Reformation Parliament. [These two names serve as landmarks for the two periods of Mary's reign.]

[1] Disputation on the Mass, Cardwell, "Synodalia," p. 425; rejection of the "Catechismus."

[2] As early as August 6, 1553, an emissary from Pole had arrived. Blunt, ii. 206.

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Three characteristics distinguished the earlier or English phase (Gardiner in power)—

(i.) Retention of the royal style [of "Supreme Head"].

(ii.) Toleration.

(iii.) Ignoring of the Pope.[1]

In the *second session of Mary's first Parliament* the queen is declared to have been born in lawful matrimony, the sentence of divorce being annulled, without reference, however, *to the Pope* (1 Mary, st. ii. c. 1); and then the same Parliament proceeds to repeal nine ecclesiastical Acts of the previous reign—the Act for receiving in both kinds, the abolition of *congé d'élire*, the Act against Images, the Act about holy days, the two Acts legalizing marriage of priests, the two Acts of Uniformity, and that authorizing the Ordinal.[2] The same Parliament passed two Acts against disturbers of preachers, and against unlawful assemblies, and finally the Act of Attainder, in which were included Cranmer, Lords Ambrose, Henry, and Guildford Dudley, Lady Jane, the *Duke of Northumberland*, the Marquess of Northampton, the Earl of Warwick, *Sir John Gates*, Sir Henry Gates, and *Sir Thomas Palmer*. Of these three, Duke of Northumberland, Sir John Gates, and Sir Thomas Palmer, had been already executed (August 22). On November 13 five of the remaining *eight*, viz. Cranmer and the Dudleys, were found guilty of treason.

The proceedings of this first Parliament had by *law restored the religion which existed in the last year of Henry VIII.*, but the laws had yet to be enforced, and with a view to this the queen published her Injunctions, consisting of eighteen Articles,[3] in *March*, 1554. It is noticeable that Mary here used the Royal Supremacy, retaining even the style adopted by her father.[4] Of these Articles, the fifteenth, for supplying the defects of those ordained by the late form if the persons be meet, we shall refer to later on. The seventh,

[1] See Blunt, ii. 199–204.

[2] [See the list in the "Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," i. 43.]

[3] "Documentary Annals," i., No. xxx. p. 120; Blunt, ii. 208.

[4] This was a purely State act, not sanctioned by Convocation. Would it have been possible to pass these regulations through Convocation, or was Mary more Erastian than Henry?

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eighth, and ninth deal with the marriage of clergy. All married clergy were to be deprived, and, if regulars, divorced, while widowers after due penance may be readmitted.

This first stage in the return to Rome lasted only till the second Parliament met. Then the *Spanish match* was openly recognized. The English people opposed it.[1] Sir Thomas Wyatt and the Duke of Suffolk headed (January, 1554) a rebellion against it, which only led to the execution of *the Lady Jane* and her husband on February 12 (1554), and of *her father* and *Wyatt* ten days later. Gardiner, who had opposed the match, was now anxious to guard against Spanish influence, as the marriage was already a certainty. The new Parliament, having passed an Act to secure the royal power (1 Mary, st. 3, c. 1), proceeded to the matter of the queen's marriage with Philip, which was solemnized at Winchester on July 25, 1554. The question of reconciliation with Rome was now decided. Pole, who was under attainder passed in 1536, had been appointed[2] by the Pope *legate, with full powers,* as soon as Mary's accession was known; but Gardiner had, partly from rivalry, partly from policy, opposed his coming, and even persuaded the Emperor to detain him lest too great haste should ruin all. Now, however, the attainder was reversed (November 22) on the ground that he had been attainted only for not assenting to the divorce of Henry and Katharine, which divorce had already been declared illegal. Pole was of the English royal family, being grandson to George, Duke of Clarence, Edward IV.'s brother. He was thus second cousin to Henry VIII. and second cousin once removed to Queen Mary. He was one of the little company of moderate Roman Catholics, of whom Contarini was another, and which held "justification by faith" in a form which, if not Lutheran, was not Roman.[3] He entered London on *November* 24 while Parliament was sitting.[4]

[1] Strype, "Eccl. Mem.," vol. iii. part i. pp. 55, 124-5: a supernatural voice uttered seditious things in Aldersgate through a hole in a wall; *ibid.*, p. 99.

[2] In August, 1553. See bull in "Documentary Annals," i., No. xxix. p. 117.

[3] Ranke's "Popes," i. 111 *sqq*.

[4] Blunt, ii. 211. For the bull empowering Pole to reconcile England, see "Documentary Annals," i., No. xxxii. p. 128. It bears date March 8, 1554, the original bull appointing him *legate a latere* being dated August, 1553.

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The remaining steps in the reconciliation were as follows. On November 27 he addressed the two Houses of Parliament explaining the leniency of the Pope in sending a legate instead of an army. Two days afterwards (November 29), the Parliament petitioned the queen to intercede for their reception into the bosom of the Church, and the result was that on St. Andrew's Day, November 30, 1554, it was absolved by the Pope's legate. The immediate result of this was a Bill, which passed the Lords on December 26 and the Commons on January 4, 1555, and was placed on the statute book as "an Act repealing all Articles and Provisions made against the See Apostolick of Rome since the 20th year of King Henry the Eighth, and for the establishment of all Spiritual and Ecclesiastical Possessions and Hereditaments conveyed to the laity." The last part was known to be a *sine quâ non* of reconciliation, and thus the very safeguard which Henry had provided against a return to Rome was destroyed.[1] The antipapal Acts abrogated by this Act were eighteen in number.[2]

Pope Julius III. died (March 23, 1555) before the news of the reconciliation of England reached Rome. His successor, Marcellus II., died (May 3) twenty-one days after his election, and Paul IV. (elected May 23, 1555) received the English ambassadors.

LECTURE XVI.

THE PERSECUTION OF THE PROTESTANTS.

CRANMER was attainted of treason on the queen's accession. When Parliament met and the ecclesiastical laws of Edward were repealed, not only were the queen's Injunctions made to carry out the change, but a special commission was appointed[3] to deal with *married bishops*, and those who had received

[1] See Ranke, "Hist. of Eng.," i. 203.

[2] [See the list in the "Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," i. 43.]

[3] See Burnet, ii. 274, and the two documents.

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their *sees under letters patent during good behaviour.* Under the first head fell Holgate, Archbishop of York, with the Bishops of St. David's, Chester, and Bristol; under the second, the Bishops of Lincoln and Hereford, and Bishop Hooper of Gloucester. Besides these, however, the restoration of the imprisoned bishops to their sees deprived those who had succeeded them. Durham was given back to Tunstall, and Worcester (which Hooper had held *in commendam*) to Heath. The restoration of Gardiner ousted Poynet, who escaped to the Continent, and that of Day to Chichester ousted Scory. Bonner found the see of London vacant, Ridley having vacated it by accepting the new see of Durham, to which he was never inducted. Barlow resigned his see of Bath and Wells and escaped. The result of these early changes were as follows :—Twelve bishops were deprived or displaced; two other sees, Ely and Coventry, were vacated by death in the spring of 1554; Bath and Wells was vacant by Barlow's resignation, and Rochester was void. Sixteen new bishops, therefore, had to be appointed, if we include Gardiner, Bonner, Heath, Day, and Tunstall, who were restored to their sees.

The following table shows the state of things in the beginning of Mary's reign. Six bishops were consecrated on April 1, 1554, one on October 28, 1554, two on November 18, 1554, and there were two translations in the same year.

Canterbury	Vacant by Cranmer's attainder.	
Durham	Tunstall restored.	
York	Holgate.[1]	
St. David's	Ferrar[1]	Morgan.
Chester	Bird[1]	Cotes.
Bristol	Bush[1]	Holyman (consec. November 18, 1554).
Lincoln	Taylor[2]	White, Warden of Winchester.
Hereford	Harley[2]	Parfew translated from St. Asaph.
Gloucester .. .. }	Hooper[2]	{ Brokes.
Worcester .. .. }		{ *Heath.*

[1] Married bishops deprived, March 16, 1554.
[2] Bishops appointed under letters patent deprived, March 15, 1554.

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See		
Winchester	Gardiner ousts *Poynet*, who escapes to Continent.	
Chichester	Day restored (supersedes *Scory*).	
London	Vacant (Ridley having accepted Durham)	Bonner.
Norwich		Hopton (consec. October 28, 1554).
Ely	Vacated by death, 1554.	Thirlby, translated from Norwich.
Coventry	Vacated by death, 1554.	Bayne (consec. November 18, 1554).
Bath and Wells	Barlow resigned	Bourne.
Rochester	Void	Griffyn.

[No change took place in Salisbury, Peterborough, Llandaff, or Carlisle. Exeter, Oxford, and Bangor were void; St. Asaph vacated by translation.]

Foreign refugees were ordered at the very opening of Mary's reign, under pain of imprisonment and loss of goods, to leave the realm within twenty-four days,[1] and it is said that as many as eight hundred fled.[2]

We see two policies at work in Mary's reign, the policy of Gardiner and the policy of Pole. The one aimed at undoing the work of Edward's reign; the other aimed at a return to Rome. The ascendency of these two men characterized the earlier and later phases of the reign. When "the Spanish match" was effected, Gardiner fell into the background and Pole came to the front. The queen's marriage was on July 25, 1554. Till that time Gardiner was supreme,[3] and till that time *no person was executed in England for heresy.*[4] But the Parliament which met in the autumn of that year, November 12, 1554–January 16, 1555, struck the key-note of a new ecclesiastical policy. Not only was the reconciliation with Rome embodied in a statute (1 & 2 Phil. and Mary, c. 8), but the Parliament, "which was much set on severities,"[5] revived (1 & 2 Phil. and Mary, c. 6) the statutes of Richard II., Henry IV., and Henry V. against heretics.

[1] Hardwick, "Reformation," p. 218; Wilkins, iv. 93.

[2] Burnet says, "above one thousand" (ii. 250), amongst whom he probably includes men like Cox, Sands, Grindal, Horne, etc., who were English.

[3] See Poynet's description of Bishop Gardiner, ap. Strype, "Ecclesiastical Memorials," III. i. pp. 271–2.

[4] Blunt, ii. 214, 215.

[5] Burnet, ii. 296.

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The next four years, 1555–1558, include the most un-English period of English history.[1] Rogers, the translator of the Bible, was burnt on February 4, 1555; Bishop Hooper and Dr. Taylor on February 9; Bishop Ferrar on March 30; Bishops Ridley and Latimer at Oxford on October 16; while Archbishop Cranmer's execution was postponed till March 21 in the following year. The last burnings took place on November 10, 1558, the queen dying on November 17, and Pole next day. Including these, nearly 300 burnings for heresy took place. Speed[2] makes the total 277, viz. 5 bishops, 21 divines, 8 gentlemen, 84 artificers, 100 husbandmen, labourers, etc., 55 women, and 4 children. Burnet makes the number 284, and some papers of Lord Burleigh's make it 290.

Localization of these persecutions.—It is remarkable that these burnings were confined to a comparatively small area. In the west and north of England hardly any executions took place. When we come to map out the places we find that all the towns conspicuous for persecution were on the old roads between London and the seaports at which continental refugees would arrive. The old hypothesis that the number of persecutions in London and the eastern counties was due to the exceptional severity of certain bishops will probably have to yield to the alternative hypothesis that Anabaptists and heretics of all kinds, who had come as refugees from the Continent, abounded in these places.[3] [From a pupil's notebook.] Most of the persecutions took place in the eastern counties, the stronghold of the Anabaptists, who were anti-sacramental, and the fact that most of the martyrs were common people shows that the persecution was quite as much political as religious. Anabaptist answers to the Socialist now, say. When the doctrine of Transubstantiation was the test of orthodoxy, it was natural that these Anabaptists should furnish most victims. There is something to be said for this view, but it need not be entirely accepted.[3] This is no justification of the persecution, but it explains why it raged so unequally.

[1] See generally Blunt, ii. 214–332. [2] Quoted in Heylyn, ii. 224.
[3] See Blunt, ii. 222–225.

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Who was responsible for the persecutions? The old answer was Bloody Bonner and Wily Winchester (*i.e.* Gardiner). Gardiner pulled the strings and Bonner got the credit of the work.

Against this some facts have to be weighed. First, as to *Gardiner*[1]—

(α.) He was in the ascendant in the queen's counsels till the Spanish match, and up to that time no heretic was burned in England.

(β.) He was opposed to the Heresy Act of 1554, as he had been to the Spanish match.

(γ.) He lived on till November 12, 1555, a month after the execution of Ridley and Latimer, and till his death no execution took place in the diocese of Winchester.

(δ.) He was never on any commission for trying heresy except that which tried Rogers and Hooper, on which as Lord Chancellor he was obliged to sit.

With regard to *Bonner*[2] we have fewer facts to go upon. London, whoever was bishop, was sure to be the home of strange doctrines, and we know from extant letters that many heretics from the provinces were sent up to London for trial. We know, too, that Bonner was reprimanded by the Privy Council for not being more strict in carrying out the law, and his letter in answer shows him in a new character.

Everything tends to throw the blame not on the Church, but on the State. The bishops were notoriously backward in executing the law, and a strong inductive argument tends to the general conclusion that persecution generally, and the Six Articles Law in particular, came from the State.[3] Queen Mary's half-Spanish blood explains her well-known views on persecution enunciated as early as 1553.[4] The Heresy Act was parallel to the Six Articles Law, only that the English nation revolted from the carrying out of the one,

[1] Blunt, ii. 229. [2] *Ibid.*, ii. 230.

[3] D. Whitehead, writing from Frankfort, September 20, 1555 ("Original Letters," No. ccclviii.), considers "that outrageous pamphlet of Knox's" ("An Admonition to Christians") gave the signal for persecution.

[4] See Perry, p. 237.

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while the strong Spanish influence of Philip and his inquisitors explain the fires of Smithfield. Philip's sentiments are not a question of doubt, and his familiars, Alphonsus da Castro, and the Dominicans, Pedro di Soto, and Juan di Villagarcia, may be judged by their views and actions in Spain.[1]

The persecutions can in no way be made intelligible to Englishmen except on the assumption of strong foreign influence.

BIBLIOTHECA

LECTURE XVII.

EDWARDINE ORDERS AND CONVOCATION UNDER MARY.

Were Edwardine orders recognized in Mary's reign?

[Mr. Moore's manuscript lecture contains merely the enumeration of the four sources, so that the following summary is practically taken intact from a pupil's note-book.]

On this subject our sources of information are fourfold.

(i.) *Queen Mary's Injunctions* (March, 1554).[2]

No. 15 provides that the bishops "may supply the thing which wanted in them before" to those ordained by the Edwardine Ordinal of 1550, and "admit them to minister."

(ii.) *Bull of Pope Julius III. appointing Pole legate* (August, 1553).[3]

This lays down principles for the exercise of Pole's power of reconciliation, and seems to empower him to deal with four classes of persons:—

(*a*) *Those who before the Separation were "legitime promoti et ordinati."*

i.e. Practically those bishops (*e.g.* Latimer) who held sees before the Separation, but who accepted the Separation.

Pole was simply to absolve them and to restore them to their former status if matters were otherwise satisfactory.

[1] See Blunt, ii. p. 251 and following.

[2] "Documentary Annals," i., No. xxx. p. 120.

[3] *Ibid.*, i. No. xxix. p. 117. Father Hutton has got this question into confusion by quotations from the bull without reference to the context.

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(*b*) *Those whose orders were not doubted.*

i.e. Ordained according to the Pontifical, but after the Separation, so that according to the Roman view they had no jurisdiction—would be bishops, but without sees.

(*c*) and (*d*) Those whose ordination itself is either irregular, or null and void. "*Qui ordines nunquam aut male susceperunt.*"

Nunquam. *i.e.* those ordained without the true form prescribed by the Church. This probably refers to any one ordained without "*traditio instrumentorum*"—line drawn between the First and the Second Prayer-book.

Male. Probably refers to those ordained by the 1550 Ordinal, with only some Roman symbolism, but without *traditio instrumentorum.* The orders of this class could be supplemented.

(iii.) *Bishop Bonner's Visitation Articles* (after the reconciliation).

Article 29 asks whether married clergy celebrated, also those "ordered schismatically and contrary to the old order of the Catholic Church."

Burnet has missed the point of the "*traditio instrumentorum.*"

(iv.) *Actual treatment of those who were executed.*

Cranmer was consecrated, 1533, before the schism, and had the Pope's bulls; his rank was therefore recognized, and the Pope himself had to excommunicate him. *Latimer's* rank as bishop was also recognized,[1] as he was consecrated 1535. *Ridley*, *Ferrar*, *Hooper*, were treated as priests only, and degraded from the priesthood. *Ridley* (1547) and *Ferrar* (1548) both consecrated according to the Pontifical, Hooper (1551) by the Ordinal of 1550, so that either we must say that Pole made everything turn on jurisdiction, or acted irregularly. There is a special difficulty about Ridley, as the

[1] [But see Blunt, ii. 312.]

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Pope himself recognizes him as a brother bishop. Later, they probably got indifferent to Order, and made all turn on jurisdiction.

CONVOCATION IN QUEEN MARY'S REIGN.

Convocation had been summoned to meet on September 19, 1553, by a writ dated January 19, but, owing to Edward's death and Mary's accession, was again summoned for October 6 (1553). Thinned out by the deprivation of the married clergy, and the flight to the Continent of the more extreme, it was entirely in favour of a reaction. (Note that Henry VIII. frightened Convocation; Edward VI., Mary, Elizabeth, eliminated adversaries from it). It seems at once to have reasserted Transubstantiation, and to have rejected the Catechism approved in the last Convocation.

In April, 1554, it met under Bonner, the see of Canterbury being vacant by Cranmer's attainder, and appointed delegates to confer with Cranmer, Ridley, and Latimer; and on December 7, certain bishops applied through Gardiner, the chancellor, for the restitution of their jurisdiction.

It was in the latter part of this year that the Lower House petitioned the Upper for the abolition of heretical books, in which they included Cranmer's book on the Sacrament, the Book of Common Prayer, the Ordinal, and suspect translation of the Bible; that the statutes against heretics be revived; that the Submission of the Clergy Act be repealed, the canon law revived, married priests divorced, vestments restored, etc.[1]

The question has been raised whether the Convocation was formally absolved, as Parliament was. Pole only mentioned the Parliament. Burnet and Strype are silent on the subject. But Bishop Bonner, in his declaration to the lay people,[2] says the reconciliation was also most gladly and joyfully embraced, as well by all the clergy and Convocation of the province of Canterbury, as by many other persons. In the vacancy of the see of Canterbury, Bonner, as Bishop

[1] See Cardwell, "Synodalia," vol. ii., Nos. iii., iv., and v.
[2] "Documentary Annals," i., No. xxxv. p. 171.

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of London, presided, and there is no reason to suppose it impossible that he may have been deputed by the legate to absolve Convocation, as he certainly was to absolve the clergy and laity of the diocese of London. The depriving of the married clergy, the flight of the extreme reformers, and the deprivation of many bishops, left the party of the Old Learning supreme.

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COURSE III.

THE REFORMATION IN THE REIGN OF ELIZABETH.

(1558–1603.)

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LECTURE I.

INTRODUCTION AND RETROSPECT.

VOLTAIRE, speaking of England during the Reformation period, says that the English people changed their religion four times—under Henry, under Edward, under Mary, and under Elizabeth. Mr. Beard, with far truer insight into history, singles it out as the distinctive characteristic of the English Reformation that it "followed no precedents, and was obedient only to its own law of development."[1]

In other words, *the continuity of the English Church* was the first principle of the English Reformation, and *the Apostolical succession*, so carefully preserved through all changes, was the answer to the charge of schism, as the retention of the three Creeds and the recognition of the four councils was the answer to the charge of heresy. In the archiepiscopate we have Warham, Cranmer, Pole, and Parker, without a breach of continuity, though Warham and Pole were Roman, and Cranmer and Parker anti-Roman. Parker was the true successor of Augustine as much as Becket was. Here the German and Swiss Reformation is marked off. While all claimed to appeal to what was Catholic against what was merely Roman, the Church founded by Luther and that founded by Zwingli and Calvin were utterly indifferent to any organic relation with Catholic antiquity. The rejection of episcopacy was only a sign of this indifference, as the careful guardianship of episcopal succession in England was a note of Catholicity.[2]

The same characteristic of the English Church is seen in the way in which its *Prayer-book was gathered from ancient English* sources, and was in no sense a new book ; while even the Thirty-nine Articles have only to be put side by side with the

[1] "Hibbert Lectures," p. 301, and see p. 300.
[2] See and quote Beard, p. 311.

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Protestant Confessions of the Continent to show how different is the spirit of the English Church. (So especially of the English Ordinal, as compared with the Pontifical and Bucer's formulary.)

We have traced the course of the English Reformation up to the opening of Elizabeth's reign, but it is worth summarizing it in order to understand exactly what the problem was, for we shall find the reign of Elizabeth gathering up into itself the work of the previous reigns.

Henry VIII.—The great work of Henry's reign was *the vindication of the constitutional and historical independence of the Church of England.* This great work was done by the Reformation Parliament of 1529–1536. What had Parliament to do with it? It vindicated the constitutional rights of the Church of England from foreign interference. These interferences of the Papacy had always been resisted by the greatest English Churchmen, had always been illegal, but connived at. They were now again declared illegal, and the promoters or favourers of such interference were guilty of Præmunire. Henry's own motives were as selfish as could be, but his own selfish and sensual schemes were providentially used to vindicate the ancient freedom of the English Church. When, therefore, it is said that the claim of Supremacy made by Henry "was but the last stage of a process which had been going on for almost five hundred years,"[1] this only means that the Supremacy, which had been taken as a matter of course, was gradually formulated as the encroachments of the Papacy made it necessary. The fabric of the Papacy was the work of men like Hildebrand and Innocent III. and Boniface VIII. in the eleventh, twelfth, and thirteenth centuries. But the battle which had been fought and won by the Papacy against the temporal power had never been fought out in England, though there had been numerous collisions. A king like John might for a moment cringe to the Papacy, but the Kings of England, as a rule, had the same supremacy as Charlemagne had. The reason why the conflict took place on the Continent was this.

[1] Beard, p. 308.

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On the Continent the Papacy and the Empire were rival powers. First the Papacy was the subject, then the rival, then the sovereign; but, according to the insular theory of England, the king was supreme over both parts of the nation—the temporalty and the spiritualty, represented respectively by Parliament and Convocation in later days. And thus, though there was friction between the two parts, the king as supreme over both gave a unity to the empire of England, which otherwise must have been secured by the subordination of either Church to State or of State to Church.

The three great Acts, however, which separated England from the Roman Obedience (without, of course, denying the primacy secured to it by the early councils), were by no means so much clear gain. So far as they were anti-papal these Acts were strictly constitutional, but they were saddled with restrictions which showed the beginnings of an Erastian subordination of the spiritual to the secular. As a reaction, this was to be expected, perhaps even necessary; but the fact that they are on the statute book in the nineteenth century, lays the English Church open to the charge of being dependent on the State, a charge which both Romanists and Dissenters are always ready to urge.

Thus the Act for *Restraint of Appeals* (25 Hen. VIII. c. 19) carried with it the Submission of the Clergy, which robbed the Church of her immemorial right to frame her own laws. The *Restraint of Annates* (25 Hen. VIII. c. 20) was accompanied by a tyrannical denial of the right secured by Magna Charta to elect to bishoprics. The *Act against Papal Dispensations, Peter Pence*, etc. (25 Hen. VIII. c. 21), gave the exempt monasteries to the king, and by implication all the rest.

So far, however, though the property and liberties of the Church were interfered with, there was no tampering with doctrine. The formularies of faith put forth were simply Roman Catholicism minus the Pope. The Six Articles Law (1539) showed clearly that neither Henry nor the English Church or State intended to deviate from Catholicism as then understood.

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Edward VI.—Hence Heylyn says plainly that *the Reformation dates from Edward VI.'s reign*, what was done in Henry's time being "accidental only, and, by the by, rather designed on private ends, than out of any settled purpose to reform the Church."[1] This is an overstatement, for the Church in its Convocation was busy with schemes of Reformation to be conducted on Catholic lines even before the breach with Rome, but it only gradually became clear how much reconstruction was involved in the rejection of the Papacy.

Thus, just as in Henry's reign the reaction against the Papacy opened a door to State tyranny, so the reaction against doctrines distinctly connected with the papal claims paved the way for various Protestant innovations. The First Prayer-book of Edward VI. was the ripe result of the English Reformation; the Second Book was due to foreign and Protestant influences.

Was the Second Prayer-book ever accepted by the English Church? It was authorized by Act of Parliament, and therefore was legally the Book of Common Prayer from November 1, 1552, till all the ecclesiastical Acts of Edward were repealed by Mary in October, 1553. England tried the Puritan Prayer-book for ten months, and, so far from becoming more Puritan, it preferred to accept Catholicism with the Papacy rather than Puritanism without it. There were only five divines who opposed.[2] Humanly speaking, if it had not been for the Spanish match the reign of Mary might have undone the whole work of the Reformation, but here again the unwisdom of persecution was an instrument in God's hand for the preservation of the English Church. As Mary's accession had been for the time the death-blow of Puritanism in England, so her reign was destined to be the death-blow to the Papacy there. No doubt an insular hatred of foreigners had much to do with the rejection of Puritanism, as it had with the rejection of the Pope. But there was more than this, for the Puritan attack in the reign of Elizabeth was steadily

[1] "Reformation," vol. i. pref. ix.
[2] Perry, p. 257.

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repelled, though its champions were not foreign refugees, but English exiles who had returned from abroad.

What was the attitude of the Church as expressed by Convocation? The answer is difficult to give after the time of the Reformation Parliament; for men lived under a reign of terror, and with the penalty of Præmunire always hanging over their heads. The tyranny of successive kings made Convocation no true representative of the Church. Henry put to death those who had the courage to protest against his Erastian policy. The Privy Council in the next reign weeded out the representatives of the Old Learning, and appointed to the episcopate men who had no sympathy with the principles of the English Reformation. Mary only carried out the same policy, though in a more un-English way, when she burned, or compelled to fly the country, all those who sympathized with the changes of the last twenty-five years.

The ecclesiastical history of the reign of Queen Elizabeth deals with three main subjects—

(i.) The repudiation of the papal claim of supremacy.

(ii.) The consolidation of the National Church of England.

(iii.) The secession from it of those who were eventually called Puritans.

In repudiating the Roman claims, Elizabeth had to travel over the ground which her father had trodden. But experience had shown that the Papacy might now be braved with impunity, and excommunication and interdict had lost their terrors. In consolidating the National Church the first question was the election and consecration of the new archbishop, Archbishop Pole having died the day after Queen Mary. When this and various matters of discipline had been attended to, the question of doctrine succeeded, *first* the restoration of the Prayer-book, and *then* the revision of the Articles.

The struggle with Puritanism led to secession in 1566, and the bull of excommunication in 1570 separated the

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Roman Catholics from the English Church. Thus, within eleven years of Elizabeth's accession, the Church of England is found in sharp contrast to Rome on the one side and Puritanism on the other. In both cases the act of separation came from without the Church of England. For eleven years Roman Catholics communicated[1] and ministered in the reformed Church of England, while the Puritans, the first English schismatics, separated from the Church on a matter which even the Puritans of the Continent considered unimportant.

State of England at the Accession of Queen Elizabeth.

The accession of Elizabeth was welcomed by those who had been driven into exile in the late reign as if it meant a return to the Reformation in the form which it had assumed at the end of Edward's reign. But the queen was far too cautious for this, and had too much knowledge of the mind of the English people. More than this, she knew that Convocation, thanks to the persecutions of the last reign, was almost to a man on the side of Romanism. Parliament was careless about religion (except, of course, in the case of the spiritual peers); and the queen herself, though she had shown her opposition to Romanism by refusing to allow the elevation of the Host,[2] was very far removed from sympathy with Puritanism. Still every one knew that the accession of Elizabeth meant separation from Rome. The legitimacy of the two sisters was a religious question. If the Pope's supremacy were admitted, Elizabeth was illegitimate;[3] if the papal supremacy was rejected, she was not only rightful monarch by the Act of Succession and her father's will, but was also, by Cranmer's judgment in the divorce case, the king's lawful daughter. If any doubt on this question remained, it was removed by the answer of Pope Paul IV., who, when the queen announced her accession to him by Sir Edward Kane,

[1] Heylyn, ii. 272, f.n.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii. 286, and reff., *q.v.*

[3] "She knew full well that her legitimation and the Pope's supremacy could not stand together." *Ibid.*, ii. 268.

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replied "that the kingdom of England was held in fee of the Apostolic see; and that she could not succeed, being illegitimate."[1] But if the queen's attitude towards Rome was thus predetermined, her *attitude towards Puritanism* was as decided. It so happened that John Knox, in the fervour of his righteous indignation against Queen Mary, had published a book called the "First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women." This unfortunately applied to the Protestant Elizabeth no less than to the Popish Mary, and the result was that John Knox was forbidden to come to England, and the queen was confirmed in her dislike of the Geneva platform. Thus she was crowned with the old rites by Bishop Oglethorpe, January 15, 1559.

It is interesting to read the contemporary "Zürich Letters" on the occasion of the queen's accession. If we took them literally, the Reformation of Elizabeth's reign would be simply unintelligible. For we are left to suppose that the ten thousand clerics, being all at heart Papists, found the queen too strong for them and therefore hypocritically conformed. As a matter of fact, those who really identified the papal views with Catholicism were probably a small number, though many others would vote with them for fear of a return to that of which the last years of Edward VI. had given them a taste. The subsequent history shows us what the Puritan party meant by popery, and it is thus possible to believe that while the great mass of the English clergy were popish in this sense, they were loyal members of the English Church, who, while they might prefer Rome to Zürich or Geneva, preferred Catholicism to either.[2]

Summary of the Reformation Settlement.

1558. State of England at the accession of Queen Elizabeth, November 17, 1558. Geneva, Frankfort, and Zürich. The queen and Puritanism.

1559. Archbishop Parker and the restoration of Angli-

[1] Heylyn, ii. 268, *q.v.*
[2] See Hook's "Life of Parker," ch. viii.

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canism. Rejection of papal claims, and revival of the Prayer-book.

1563. The Thirty-nine Articles. Their history (doctrine and discipline) and the Canons of 1571 (Ref. Legum).

1566. The Puritans and their theology. Heresy and schism. Vestiarian controversy.

1570. Excommunication of England. Seminarists in England.

1571. The *via media* of Anglicanism as determined by (i.) Romanism, and (ii.) Puritanism. The principles of Anglicanism.[1]

1573. The Admonitions. Proclamation of October, 1573, and letter of the council.

1575. Death of Archbishop Parker, May 17.

Ecclesiastical Legislation of Elizabeth.

Regnal year begins November 17.

1 Eliz. *Parliament, January* 23 (*prorogued to* 25*th*)-*May* 8, 1559.

Cap. 1. An Act to restore ancient jurisdiction.

Cap. 2. Act of Uniformity.

Cap. 3. An Act for Recognition, etc. (*i.e.* legitimacy of queen).

Cap. 4. Act for restoring First-fruits to Crown.

5 Eliz. *Parliament meets January* 12, 1563.

Cap. 1. Anti-papal Act (called for by "marvellous outrage and licentious boldness" (?)).

Cap. 15. Act against Prophesying, Witchcraft, etc. (anti-papal).

Cap. 23. Act for Execution of Writ *de Excommunicato Capiendo.*

Cap. 28. Act for translating the Bible and the Prayer-book into Welsh.

8 Eliz. *Parliament meets September* 30, 1566.

Cap. 1. Concerning Consecration of Bishops and Archbishops.

[1] See "Documentary Annals," i. 368.

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Cap. 4. Limitation of Benefit of Clergy.

13 Eliz. *Parliament meets April* 2, 1571.

Cap. 2. Against Papal Bulls, etc.

Cap. 12. For the Ministers of the Church to be of Sound Religion (Subscription to Thirty-nine Articles).

14 Eliz. *Parliament, May* 8–*June* 29, 1572.

No ecclesiastical Bills received.[1]

(Hence the First and Second Admonition.)

Dean Whitgift's answer. Royal proclamation, October 20, 1573, and letter of council.[2]

Death of Archbishop Parker, May 17, 1575.

18 Eliz. *Parliament, February* 8–*March* 15, 1576.

No ecclesiastical Acts passed.

23 Eliz. *Parliament, January* 16–*March* 18, 1581.

Cap. 1. Disciplinary Act.

27 Eliz. *Parliament, November* 23, 1584–*March* 29, 1585.

Cap. 2. Act against Jesuits and Seminarists.

29 Eliz. *Parliament meets February* 15, 1587.

Cap. 6. Disciplinary Act (not going to church).

31 Eliz. *Parliament, February* 4–*March* 29, 1590.

No ecclesiastical Acts.

35 Eliz. *Parliament, February* 19–*April* 10, 1594.

Cap. 1. Act against Puritans. Punishment of Puritans.

Cap. 2. Act against Popish Recusants.

39 Eliz. *Parliament, October* 24, 1596–*February* 9, 1597.

Cap. 8. Confirmation of deprivation of bishops (before November 10, 1562).

43 Eliz. *Parliament, October* 27–*December* 19, 1601.

No ecclesiastical legislation.

[1] Perry, p. 297.

[2] "Documentary Annals," i. 383.

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LECTURE II.

THE FIRST YEAR OF ELIZABETH'S REIGN (1559).

STATE OF ENGLAND IN THE FIRST YEAR OF ELIZABETH ACCORDING TO THE "ZURICH LETTERS."

RATHER more than a year elapsed (November 17, 1558–December 17, 1559) between the accession of Elizabeth and the consecration of Archbishop Parker. In order to understand the state of England as described by the exiles, we must just notice the chief events which gave indications as to the line which England would take towards Rome and Zürich.

1. The first act would be the queen's choice of counsellors,[1] but of Mary's thirty-five, *eleven* were retained, to whom were added *eight* who were known to favour reforming views, though not one of them was Lutheran, Zwinglian, or Calvinist.[2]

2. To balance this, two grand ceremonies took place in Westminster Abbey on December 13 and December 24; the former the funeral of Queen Mary, the latter a funeral service in honour of the Emperor Charles V., who had died on September 21.[3]

3. Before the end of the year appeared (December 27) a proclamation against preaching,[4] which we shall find variously interpreted. It was certainly aimed against the controversy and disputes which, in the transition time, were sure to arise between the Papists and the Puritans. Till the queen could consult Parliament and the Spiritualty, all were restricted from preaching. The Gospel and Epistle for the day were to be used; the Creed and Lord's Prayer and Litany in the vulgar tongue. Besides these, nothing but the legal (*i.e.*

[1] See "Zürich Letters," i. 2.

[2] Hook's "Parker," p. 138.

[3] See Heylyn, ii. 273.

[4] "Documentary Annals," i. 208, *sqq.*

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Roman) use was to be allowed.[1] Mass was said from November, 1558, to June, 1559.

4. The next event is the coronation early in the new year, January 15, 1559, in Westminster Abbey, Bishop Oglethorpe of Carlisle officiating. The other prelates were present,[2] except Bonner, and he, according to Strype, lent his scarlet robe to Oglethorpe for the occasion. The Mass was celebrated, but the Host was not elevated. It is conjectured that Heath's reason for refusing was the queen's known objection to the adoration.

5. On January 25 Parliament met; Convocation the day after. And it was while Parliament was discussing the great ecclesiastical Acts which again separated England from Rome and restored the Prayer-book, that Convocation entered its protest.[3]

6. It was during the session of Parliament that the disputation or conference in Westminster Abbey was held. It lasted from March 31 to April 3, and resulted in nothing, save that Bishops White and Watson were committed to the Tower.[4]

7. Deprivation of bishops except *one*, and many clergy (bishops 14, abbots 6, deans 12, etc.;[5] altogether about 200 out of 9000 [6]).

8. The Royal Injunctions, Articles, and visitations.[7]

FIRST PARLIAMENT OF ELIZABETH, JANUARY 23–APRIL 8, 1559.

The Parliament which met on January 23, 1559, finally separated England from the Roman Obedience. Its chief ecclesiastical Acts were—

April 26, 1 Eliz. c. 1. An Act to restore the ancient jurisdiction (Act of Supremacy).

[1] "Zürich Letters," i. 3; ii. 7.

[2] Hook, *ut supra*, p. 151.

[3] See Perry, p. 257, and in full, Cardwell's "Synodalia," ii. 492. The Acts we must return to later on. "Zürich Letters," ii. 6; i. 7.

[4] Perry, p. 259. See, too, Heylyn, ii. 287; "Zürich Letters," i. 11.

[5] Cf. Heylyn, ii. 295.

[6] [Blunt, ii. 350, says 189 out of 9400.]

[7] See "Documentary Annals."

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April 28, 1 Eliz. c. 2. The Act of Uniformity restoring the Prayer-book.

1 Eliz. c. 3. An Act for recognition of the Queen.

February 4, 1 Eliz. c. 4. An Act for restoring First-fruits to the Crown.

Of these Acts, the first was directly anti-papal, and the third indirectly, for the Act which legitimated the queen *ipso facto* declared that the English ruling on the divorce case was final, and could not be reversed by the Pope.

Besides these Acts there was one which (according to Heylyn) "never had the confidence to appear in print,"[1] and which was distinctly a spoliation Act. This was 1 Eliz. c. 19 (April 17), which is not to be found in the statutes, but is printed in full in Gibson's "Codex."[2] This Act empowered the queen, in the vacancy of any see, to exchange for any manors, lands, etc., she might like to have, an equal amount of impropriations, tithes, etc. The iniquity of this is not at once apparent. For the Church lands were valued at the ancient rent, and therefore were far more valuable than appeared, while the impropriations given in exchange were at their full value, often irrecoverable, and always saddled with deductions and charges.[3] More than that, the sees were kept vacant while the survey and valuation was made, and the Act also provided that the bishops might not let lands for more than twenty-one years, except to the Crown, when a lease of ninety-nine years was lawful. So keenly was this injustice felt by Parker and the other bishops elect, that they prayed the queen to accept from the province of Canterbury instead the sum of a thousand marks, which she refused.[4] The Act for restoring First-fruits to the Crown was the first Act passed. The Bill was offered to the House on January 30, and passed on February 4, 1559.[5] This was in spite of the opposition of the bishops.

[1] "Reformation," ii. 307.

[2] p. 770.

[3] Heylyn, ii. 307.

[4] Strype's "Parker," p. 44.

[5] For the history of annates, see Gibson, p. 122, etc., and p. 870, etc. Summary: Clergy appeal for relief from payments to Rome. Act passed 23 Hen. VIII. c. 20 (conditional; not in printed statutes, see Gibson, p. 122).

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1 Eliz. c. 3. The Act for recognition of the Queen (omitted in Perry) and her just title to the Crown passed without difficulty. The queen had been declared illegitimate, as was Mary, by the Act passed 28 Hen. VIII. c. 7, though by the Succession Act of 35 Hen. VIII. c. 1, both were to succeed in the event of failure of issue from Edward. The Succession Act did not legitimate the two daughters. Consequently, when Mary came to the throne, an Act was passed (1 Mary, st. ii. c. 1) declaring her legitimate, and cancelling all Acts to the contrary. Sanders' continuator makes capital out of the fact that Elizabeth was never declared legitimate by Act of Parliament,[1] and Heylyn almost admits as much, and says that men blamed the Lord Keeper for it.[2] But, first, to reject the Roman Supremacy was *ipso facto* to establish her legitimacy; secondly, the Act by which she had been declared illegitimate, together with Mary, had been repealed in the late reign; and, finally, the Act of recognition speaks of Elizabeth as "rightly and lineally and lawfully descended and come of the blood royal of this realm of England," while in the concluding paragraph all sentences, judgments, and decrees, together with all Acts or clauses repugnant to the recognition, are repealed. The only objection which could fairly be made is that Parliament repealed an ecclesiastical sentence pronounced by Cranmer under pressure of royal authority.

The Act of Supremacy, 1 Eliz. c. 1, was two months before Parliament, and passed on April 26, only a few days before the Act of Uniformity, the two being under discussion together. The Papists naturally opposed it; the Puritans were no less opposed to the claim of headship over the Church. Calvin, in his commentary on Amos vii. 13, speaks of the blasphemers who called Henry "*summum caput ecclesiæ sub Christo*,"[3] but when the title was changed from "Head" to "Governor," the Bill passed in spite of the opposition of the bishops.[4]

Annates restrained, 25 Hen. VIII. c. 20; granted to the king, 26 Hen. VIII. c. 3; utterly extinguished, 2 & 3 Phil. and Mary, c. 4; restored to Crown, 1 Eliz. c. 4. Queen Anne's Bounty, 2 & 3 Anne, c. 11.

[1] Page 230. [2] ii. 278. [3] Sanders, p. 244.

[4] See Hook's "Parker," pp. 180–1. On the change of title, see "Zürich

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What did the Royal Supremacy imply?

(i.) Rejection of papal claims. Hence repeal of Mary's statutes and revival of Henry's.[1]

(ii.) It was a restitution, not a new claim.[2]

(iii.) It avoided the easily misunderstood language of Henry's Act, and so conciliated both Puritan and Papist.

(iv.) It did *de facto* go beyond its constitutional right, above all in establishing the English Inquisition.[3] Heylyn speaks of this as the principal bulwark and preservative of the Church of England against the practices and assaults of all her adversaries, whether popish or Puritan.[4] After the Act was passed, nineteen ecclesiastical commissioners were appointed, six to form a quorum, who were known as the Court of High Commission in Causes Ecclesiastical.[5]

For eighty years this unconstitutional court existed, and was finally abolished by 16 Chas. I. c. 11, on the ground that it had come to exercise power not belonging to the restored jurisdiction of the Crown; *i.e.* the Court was unconstitutional from the first, but was only discovered to be so when it began to exercise its power on the laity.[6]

Letters," I. 14, Jewel to Bullinger, and I. 9. The scruple was suggested by Lever ("Parker Correspondence," p. 66).

[1] [See "Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," i. 44; and for text of the statute, *ibid.*, pp. 224–228.]

[2] Queen Elizabeth's Admonition, "Documentary Annals," i. 212; and see Injunction.

[3] See sect. viii. of 1 Eliz. c. 1.

[4] ii. 284.

[5] See the warrant, dated July 19, 1559, "Documentary Annals," i. 255.

[6] [As to its general nature and history, see "Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," i. 49, 50.] For a contemporary exposition of the Supremacy, see Injunctions of Elizabeth, and especially the Queen's Admonition, in "Documentary Annals."

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LECTURE III.

THE ACT OF UNIFORMITY AND THE RESTORATION OF THE PRAYER-BOOK.

THE question of the restoration of the Prayer-book was one of the earliest which pressed upon Elizabeth and Lord Burleigh. And they knew what such a restoration implied. They looked forward to excommunication and interdict, and were prepared to face it.[1] Hence, as soon as Parker could be brought to town, which was not till January, 1559, after many imperious letters,[2] a commission for liturgical revision was appointed, consisting of Parker, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury, Grindal, Pilkington, Cox, May, Bill, Sir Thomas Smith, Whitehead, Sandys, and Guest.[3]

All of these were priests, and represented the two parties (exclusive of the papists) which were included in the Church of England. Such men as Parker and Guest represented the type of Anglican Churchmanship; Grindal, Cox, and Sandys, the returned exiles, who were tainted with Zürich views.

The intention of the queen and Cecil was to restore the Prayer-book of 1549, but Parker soon found that this was impossible. The returned exiles were too strong and important a party to be ignored, and Parker's illness threw the main work of the committee on Guest, a man who, though holding views like Parker's, was more inclined to give way and compromise matters.[4] Cecil had foreseen, but perhaps underestimated, the opposition of the exiles.[5] But it proved so formidable that it became necessary to adopt, not the First

[1] See Cecil's "Device" (Burnet, part ii., book iii. "Records," 1), and charges of "cloked papistry" from the other side.

[2] Strype's "Parker," p. 36.

[3] See Blunt, ii. 346–7.

[4] Hook's "Parker," p. 163.

[5] See his "Device," *ibid.*

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Prayer-book, but the Prayer-book of 1552, as the basis on which to proceed.

The Convocation, which met the day after Parliament, showed itself uncompromising.[1] Nicholas Harpsfield was chosen prolocutor (February 3), and on February 25 certain *articles* were presented to the Upper House "*ad exonerationem conscientiæ, et protestationem fidei suæ.*" In these "*articuli cleri*" the objections of Convocation were stated under five points.[2]

To meet this difficulty, a conference was arranged to take place in Westminster Abbey. Eight papists and eight non-papists were appointed to discuss certain questions.[3] The discussion began on March 31, and broke down in the second session, April 3.[4] Bishops White and Watson were sent to the Tower for contumacy.

The new Prayer-book was now before Parliament, and was scheduled on to the Act of Uniformity, which passed the House of Lords on April 28, the book being ordered to come into use on June 24. The Act speaks of the alterations.[5] The Puritans were satisfied at getting the 1552 Prayer-book again, and apparently did not see that the alterations, slight as they seemed, converted the Prayer-book into that of 1549.

(1) *The Real Presence* was restored in the words of administration.

(2) *The vestments* were brought back by the Ornaments Rubric.[6]

Thus the Parliament of 1559 had vindicated the constitutional freedom of the English Church, and revived the Prayer-book, which had grown up in the reigns of Henry and Edward out of the mediæval English service-books. It only remained

[1] See the Acts in Cardwell's "Synodalia," II. ix. 490.

[2] Cardwell, "Synodalia," ii. 493.

[3] Perry, p. 259. See, too, "Zürich Letters," i. 4, 5, 11; and "Records" in Burnet, vol. ii.

[4] On which see Burnet, ii. Records 3–5.

[5] *q.v.* 1 Eliz. c. 2, and Perry, p. 261. [For text see "Report of the Ecclesiastical Courts Commission," i. 229–231.]

[6] For other and minor alterations, see Cardwell's "Conferences on the Prayer-book," and Procter, pp. 59, 60.

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to enforce this by the administration of the oath. When we remember that the oath itself [1 Eliz. c. 1, s. 9] was much less stringent in form than the one which the clergy had taken in Edward's reign, it becomes easy to understand why it was that only 189 out of 9400 clergy refused it. All the remaining bishops, except Kitchen of Llandaff, refused and were deprived. Except the two already in the Tower, the bishops were kindly treated.[1] Bonner was sent to the Marshalsea, but the rest were billeted on the Reforming divines, or allowed to reside on their own estates.

LECTURE IV.

CONSECRATION OF ARCHBISHOP PARKER.

Of the twenty-seven English sees, seven were vacant by death at the time of Elizabeth's accession. Pole died within a few hours, and the Bishops of Gloucester, Rochester, and Bristol before the end of the year. There were thus eleven sees vacant by death early in 1559. Of the remaining sixteen bishops, all, except Kitchen of Llandaff, and Barlow, were deprived, but not at once. They were summoned before the queen on May 15, and refused to take the oath of Supremacy;[2] but nothing was immediately done. But in the course of the next two months, June and July, *eight* of the sixteen were deprived (*Bonner*, June 2; *Oglethorpe* and *Scott*, June 21; *Baynes*, June 24; *Pate*, June 30; *Watson*, July 2; *Goldwell*, July 15; *White*, July 18).[3] Of these, White and Watson had distinguished themselves in the Westminster Conference; Pate and Goldwell had fled abroad, and were deprived in absence (?). Of the others, all, except Barlow, who resigned, and Kitchen, were deprived by the end of September.

The queen's first care was to secure one who would

[1] See Grindal's letter, "Zürich Letters," ii. x.
[2] See Hook's "Parker," pp. 190–194.
[3] Perry, p. 284.

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represent the constitutional freedom of the English Church as against Roman interference, and orthodoxy against the various heresies of the Continent. Her choice was Matthew Parker, one who had lived in England during the Marian troubles, and had thus never been tainted with Zürich theology. As early as December 9, 1558, we find the Lord Keeper sending for him; and when he declined to take a prominent position, Secretary Cecil summoned him, and he came to London early in January. His unwillingness seems to have secured him a respite till May 17 (for in the Prayer-book Commission his ill health prevented his taking much part), when he was again summoned to town and informed that he was nominated to the primacy. In the interval the primacy had been offered to the Dean of Canterbury, Dr. Nicholas Wotton, and then (probably) to Feckenham, Abbot of Westminster.[1] Such names are sufficient proof that Elizabeth, if not a Papist, was certainly not a Protestant. These failing, Parker's objections were overruled, his letter and petition to the queen was disregarded, and he was peremptorily summoned to town. Every step from this point is clear. Letters patent (*congé d'élire*) were issued, July 18;[2] Chapter meeting, July 22; election, August 1;[3] and Parker's consent on August 3. On September 9 the Queen issued her letters patent for the confirmation and consecration of the archbishop elect. These were addressed to Tunstall of Durham, Bonner of Bath and Wells, Poole of Peterborough, Kitchen of Llandaff, Barlow, and Scory, bishops without sees. Only four were necessary by English use, even if no metropolitan were present; but the commission had omitted to insert "*vos aut ad minus quatuor vestrum.*" The refusal, therefore, of any one of the six would render a second commission necessary. As a matter of fact, the first three named were unwilling or unable to act, and, therefore, even if the letters had been regularly worded, the consecration could not have proceeded. It is interesting to notice, as bearing upon

[1] See Hook's "Parker," pp. 207, 208.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 212; Strype's "Parker," p. 52.
[3] By compromise, see Strype, *ibid.*

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the question of jurisdiction, that Barlow had been deprived by Mary of the see of Bath and Wells, to which see Bonner had been appointed. If Mary had power to do this, her sister might reverse the process. If she had not, then Barlow was at that moment Bishop of Bath and Wells.

The *second commission* is dated December 6, and is addressed to *Kitchen* of Llandaff; *Barlow*, Bishop elect of Chichester; *Scory*, Bishop elect of Hereford; *Coverdale*, formerly Bishop of Exeter; the *Suffragan of Bedford*, the *Suffragan of Thetford*, and *Bale* of Ossory.[1] These, or any four of them, were to proceed to consecrate. By this time the remaining eight bishops had been deprived (Tunstall, September 29; Poole, November 11; Turberville, November 23; Thirlby, November 23, as well as Bonner, Heath, Morgan, and the Bishop of Man). Kitchen alone remained, together with the Irish bishops.

On December 9, three days after, the archbishop elect was confirmed in Bow Church.[2] He was now archbishop elect, with "*potestas jurisdictionis*," but not "*potestas ordinis*."

Of the actual consecration on December 17, we have elaborate and minute accounts in the Lambeth Register.[3]

LECTURE V.

ROMAN OBJECTIONS TO PARKER'S CONSECRATION.

THE Roman objections to Anglican Orders, so far as they affect Parker's consecration, we may divide into four groups.

(i.) Objections *historical*—as to the fact of Parker's consecration, or that of his consecrators.

[1] See the document, Hook's "Parker," p. 215; "Documentary Annals," only a part.

[2] See the account, Hook's "Parker," pp. 218, 219.

[3] *q.v.* ap. "Documentary Annals," i. 276; Strype's "Parker," p. 57. See too, the archbishop's note in his diary, "17 Dec. A° 1559, consecratus sum in Archiepiscopum Cantuar. Heu, heu, Domine Deus, in quæ tempora servasti me" ("Correspondence of Archbishop Parker," p. 484). For the Nag's Head story—its history and different forms, see Strype's "Parker," p. 59, and Perry, p. 283.

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(ii.) Objections *ecclesiastical*—as to the jurisdiction of the consecrators.

(iii.) Objections *liturgical*—as to the adequacy of the Anglican Ordinal.

(iv.) Objections *theological*—as to the "intention" of the consecrators.

Of the last two classes I do not propose to speak now. Both were discussed under the general heads of the Ordinal and the Edwardine bishops.[1] With regard to the liturgical objections, we may say, in short, that there is no test which can be applied which will invalidate the Anglican Ordinal without invalidating also the Roman succession; while as for intention, there is the double answer—(*a*) it can be applied with deadly effect to the Roman bishops, and (*β*) by the consensus of canonists the "intention" of individuals is subordinated to the intention of the Church in the name of which they act, and the intention of the English Church to preserve the Apostolic Succession is plainly stated in the preface to the Ordinal.

We have thus only to deal with the historical and ecclesiastical questions—the question of *fact*, and the question of *authority*.

The fact of Parker's consecration is now absolutely beyond doubt, and the Nag's Head fable has relapsed into its original condition of myth. No better summary of the facts can be given than that of Dr. Lingard.[2] It is only fair to add that educated Roman Catholics are ashamed of the legend.

The historical objection, however, goes further back, and challenges the fact of Barlow's consecration. It is said he never received episcopal ordination, (i.) because there is no record of his consecration, and (ii.) because both he and Cranmer held views about the priesthood which would make them indifferent about consecration.[3]

[1] [See Course ii., lectures 11 and 17 above.]

[2] "History of England," vi. 326–330; *Birmingham Catholic Magazine*, 1834, quoted in full in Hook's "Parker," p. 251. See, too, Bishop Stubbs' tract on "Apostolical Succession" (in Keble College Library).

[3] This case is strongly put (*e.g.*) in the tract, "Are the Anglican Orders valid?" pp. 20, 21 (bound up in same volume with Bishop Stubbs' "Apostolical Succession" in Keble College Library).

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Now, it is quite true that we have no record of the consecration. The page is blank or missing from Cranmer's register, which throughout is most carelessly kept, and Barlow's own register (St. David's) has long been lost. But there are numerous cases of bishops whose consecration has never been doubted, though the evidence of their consecration is wanting. This is the case, *e.g.*, as Mr. A. H. Pearson shows,[1] with some of the contemporary (Roman) bishops.

The facts about Barlow are these. There is no doubt that, if he was consecrated at all, he was consecrated (probably June 11, 1536) by Archbishop Cranmer with the old Pontifical, as was Hodgkins, on Dec. 9, 1537, Scory and Coverdale being consecrated (August 30, 1551) with the Ordinal. The only question then is, Was Barlow consecrated at all?

Barlow was a D.D., and in 1527 was prior of Bisham in Berkshire. At the suppression of the monasteries he took the side of the Reformation,[2] and was elected Bishop of St. Asaph by *congé d'élire* on January 7, 1536, and confirmed by proxy (being absent in Scotland) the next month (22nd or 23rd of February). Before his consecration to St. Asaph he was elected to St. David's, April 10, and received the temporalities on the 26th, having been confirmed in Bow Church on April 21. On June 30 he took his place as bishop in the House of Lords and in the Upper House of Convocation. If he was consecrated at all, it must have been in the month of June, as he returned to Scotland after his confirmation and remained there till June. Bishop Stubbs places his consecration on June 11, though the record is defective.

Against the *argumentum ex silentio* we have to put these facts:—

(i.) Bishop Stubbs states that though the official register is wanting, we can ascertain, "beyond any reasonable doubt," from letters and other records, "the very date and circumstances of his consecration, and the names of his consecrators."[3] This he states after careful investigation of "nearly two thousand episcopal consecrations."

[1] See his tract bound up in Bodleian with Bishop Stubbs'.
[2] See Hook's "Parker," p. 237.
[3] Letter, p. 16.

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(ii.) Barlow's episcopal character was never disputed till forty-eight years after his death. He sat in Parliament and Convocation; he was called by Bishop Gardiner "his brother of St. David's;" he ordained priests; he officiated at the consecrations of Dr. Skip (Nov. 23, 1539), and of Dr. Bulkeley (Feb. 19, 1542).

(iii.) Finally, Dr. Lingard's judgment[1] is this: "Is there any positive proof that he was no bishop? None in the world. All that can be said is, that we cannot find any positive register of his consecration. So neither can we of many others, particularly of Bishop Gardiner. Did any one call in question the consecration of those bishops on that account? Why should we doubt the consecration of Barlow and not that of Gardiner? I fear the only reason is this—Gardiner did not consecrate Parker, and Barlow did."

(iv.) With regard to Barlow's and Cranmer's Erastian views, we may admit them, but the facts remain—

(1) That individual opinions could not override the law of the land.

(2) That the power of the king was absolute, and his *Catholicity* undoubted.

(3) That when, in Edward VI.'s reign, consecrations might perhaps have been omitted, they were not.

If Cranmer had broken the law which made consecration necessary, he would have incurred the penalty of Præmunire, and Henry would not have suffered the violation with impunity.[2]

We may go further. If it could be proved that Barlow had never been consecrated, and therefore could not give what he had not received, the other three bishops, about whose consecration there is no doubt, satisfied the conditions of the Nicene canon (No. 4), and the use of the English Church.[3] *Tres faciunt collegium.*[4] This rule of three bishops is seen

[1] Quoted apud Hook's "Parker," p. 241, f.n.

[2] See Lingard, ap. *ibid.*, p. 241, f.n., and pp. 250–254.

[3] On the validity but irregularity of consecration by one bishop, see *ibid.*, p. 229; see too Maskell, "Mon. Rit.," II. cxxxv.

[4] Hook, p. 229.

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in Egberht's Pontifical (Archbishop of York, 734–766), in the Salisbury Pontifical, and in the Pontifical of Edmund Lacy (Bishop of Exeter, 1420–1455). The Act of 25 Hen. VIII. c. 20 required four bishops if the metropolitan sees were void, which was the case in 1559, for Heath of York had been deprived before the commission was issued. If, therefore, Barlow had been no true bishop, the consecration would have been valid, but irregular; the irregularity being not a disregard of the Nicene canon, or of the English Church canon law, but simply of an Act of Parliament passed for extra precaution twenty-five years before (1534).

If it be argued that the consecrating bishop was Barlow, and the others only his witnesses, this contradicts the highest ritual authorities, *e.g.* Martène who says, "*Omnes qui adsunt episcopi non tantum testes sed etiam cooperatores esse, citra omnem dubitationis aleam asserendum est;*"[1] and in the case of Parker it was noticed that all the bishops present repeated the words, "Receive the Holy Ghost," herein following the mediæval use, which is specially enjoined by the Exeter Pontifical.

On February 3, 1549, Barlow was translated to Bath and Wells. Being a married man, he was deprived in Mary's reign (1554), and being no friend of the Swiss, went to Germany; and when he returned was not restored to Bath and Wells (*Quære*, was this because the see was not vacant when the first commission was issued?),[2] but elected to Chichester, vacant by the death of John Christopherson (January 2, 1559).

The Question of Jurisdiction.—There still remains the question of jurisdiction, of which I have already spoken.[3] It is said the consecrators had not the "*potestas jurisdictionis,*" even if they had the "*potestas ordinis,*" and therefore we are left to infer that the act was schismatical.

We have seen that jurisdiction is the bestowal of no new powers, but the restriction to a given area of powers which are inherent in a bishop through consecration. The regulations by which sees were distinguished would make it techni-

[1] "De Antiq. Rit.," lib. i. c. viii. Art. x. Quoted in Hook's "Parker," p. 242.
[2] Barlow apparently *resigned* the see. See p. 219, *supra*. [3] *Supra*, p. 156.

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cally irregular (though the act would be valid) for one bishop to officiate in another bishop's diocese without his permission.[1] Such irregularity was not only justifiable, but a duty in exceptional cases,[2] *e.g.* if the bishop were heretical. Thus did St. Athanasius[3] ordain in dioceses other than his own while the Church was in danger of Arianism. But in 1559 there was no question of interference, for all the sees to which the consecrating bishops were elected were vacant by *death*. They were bishops by consecration, bishops of those sees by election, and only not confirmed because there was no archbishop to confirm them. Even if they had been purely vacant bishops, like the ἐπίσκοποι σχολάζοντες of the Greek Church, their powers of consecration would have been the same,[4] and their act would have been valid.

The only theory that will justify the objection that their act, though valid, was irregular and schismatical, is the theory that the Bishop of Rome is a universal bishop (which Pope Gregory repudiated), and therefore that all jurisdiction is from him.

[1] Canon of the Council of Hertford, 673, ap. Maskell, II. cxxxvii. On the question of Anglican Orders generally, see Bishop Stubbs' "Letter on the Apostolical Succession in the English Church," 1865; Hook's "Parker," pp. 228–254; a tract (English Church Union) by A. H. Pearson, bound up with Stubbs' and others' in Bodleian; Sir William Palmer's "Treatise," ii. 422 *sqq.*; [No. 2 of English Church Defence Tracts, edited by H. P. L. and W. B., "Are Clergymen of the English Church rightly ordained?" (1872); T. J. Bailey, "A Defence of Holy Orders in the Church of England," a large (1870) and a small (1871) edition—many documents as to Parker's consecration. The most exhaustive treatise on the subject of Anglican Orders generally, as well as the special case of Parker, is the learned work by the late A. W. Haddan, entitled "Apostolical Succession in the Church of England" (1869), a storehouse of information. Blunt's genealogical table of the succession from Plegmund of Canterbury (890–914) to Archbishop Benson—an expansion of one on a smaller scale in Bishop Stubbs' tract mentioned above—is very useful and instructive, though unluckily divided into two portions ("Annotated Prayer-book," pp. 656, 668–672). For a complete list of all bishops consecrated in or for England from 597 to 1857, with dates of consecration and names of consecrators, see Bishop Stubbs' invaluable work, "Registrum Sacrum Anglicanum" (1858).]

[2] See Hook's "Parker," pp. 232, 233; and Bingham, ii. cap. 5, § 1, and his quott.

[3] Socrates, ii. cap. 24.

[4] See Hook's "Parker," p. 230.

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BIBLIOTHECA BODLEIANA

LECTURE VI.

PROVISION FOR THE IMMEDIATE NEEDS OF THE CHURCH (1560, 1561, AND 1562).

DURING the three years which intervened between the consecration of Archbishop Parker and the reassembling of Parliament and Convocation in January, 1563, we can trace the gradual settlement of the English Church, and the beginnings of the struggle with Papists on the one side and Puritans on the other.

The first work of the archbishop was the consecration of new bishops for the vacant sees. Barlow, Bishop elect of Chichester, was confirmed on December 20, 1559, and Scory, Bishop elect of Hereford, the same day.[1] Coverdale, who was seventy-two years old, refused a see. The day after (December 21), Parker, assisted by Barlow, Scory, and Hodgkins, held his first consecration. *Grindal* was consecrated Bishop of London, *Cox* of Ely, *Sandys* of Worcester, and *Meyrick* of Bangor. The first three were but lately returned from exile, but the "Zürich Letters" show them to be very different men from Humphrey and Sampson. A month afterwards (January 21, 1560), four more, *Nicholas Bullingham* of Lincoln, *John Jewel* of Salisbury, *Thomas Young* of St. David's, and *Richard Davies* of St. Asaph, were consecrated by Parker, assisted by Grindal, Cox, and Hodgkins. Two months later (March 24, 1560), three more consecrations took place—*Bentham* to Coventry and Lichfield, *Berkeley* to Bath and Wells, and *Guest* to Rochester; the consecrators being Archbishop Parker, Bullingham, and Jewel. On July 14, 1560, *Alley* was consecrated to Exeter, and *Parkhurst*[2] to Norwich on September 1. Thus by the end of the year 1560 the see of Canterbury and sixteen of its twenty-one dioceses were filled (including Kitchen of Llandaff), Peterborough, Winchester, Gloucester,

[1] Bramh., iii. 227.

[2] See "Zürich Letters," *passim.*

Bristol, and Oxford being still vacant. Of the Northern Province, the metropolitical see and its four dioceses, Durham, Carlisle, Chester, and Sodor and Man, were vacant, apparently because the queen's commissioners had not overhauled their temporalities under 1 Eliz. c. 19.[1]

Meanwhile other matters were pressing on the archbishop, as we may gather from the royal proclamations of this period.

The revival of the Forty-two Articles of Edward and their revision was impossible till the meeting of Convocation, and therefore the archbishop published eleven Articles for provisional use. This was done at an episcopal conclave (*assessus*) in April, 1561.[2] At the second session, on April 12, other matters were agreed upon.[3]

The English Bible, too, needed revision. The Great Bible (Cranmer's) of 1540, which had been restored by the Injunctions of 1559, was in danger of being superseded by the Geneva Bible (of 1560), but it was not till 1568 that the Bishops' Bible appeared.

There were some minor matters connected with the Prayer-book which admitted of easy adjustment. The universities petitioned for a Latin version of it, which was provided for by letters patent of April 6, 1560,[4] and a form was added for funeral celebrations.[5] A revised Calendar of Lessons was provided early in the next year (1561, January 22).[6]

But other and more serious matters were less easy to settle. The pestilence had thinned the ranks of the parish priests, and it was difficult to supply their places. For the present, therefore, lay readers had to be appointed to assist the clergy in reading the Litany, the lessons, etc.[7] Then, again, the frequent changes had led to great irregularities and negligence in the churches and the services, and also in the churchyards.[8] The queen would have at once restored

[1] Heylyn, ii. 307–8.

[2] See them, ap. "Documentary Annals," i. p. 263; and a summary in Hook's "Parker," pp. 274, 275.

[3] "Documentary Annals," i. 298, etc. [4] *Ibid.*, i. 280. [5] *q.v. ibid.*, i. 282.

[6] *Ibid.*, i. 294. [7] See the Injunctions, *ibid.*, i. 302.

[8] See Perry, pp. 275, 276; "Documentary Annals," i. 289, proclamation against desecrating tombs; and *ibid.*, i. 210.

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decency of worship and made clerical celibacy compulsory.[1] Parker, however, knew that he was between two fires, and hence the caution which marked his policy throughout.

The Papists, meaning by that term the Pope and the deprived bishops and priests, had adopted a new policy. Paul IV. had died on August 18, 1559, and his successor (December 25, 1559), Pius IV., saw at once that a new policy must be attempted towards Elizabeth. Paul had called her a bastard, and her kingdom a dependency of Rome. He had even encouraged the Queen of Scotland to claim the crown. Pius writes to her, May 5, 1560, as his "dearest daughter," and offers to receive her back into the bosom of the Church.[2] Whether this letter is genuine or not there is little reason to doubt that he offered to approve the Book of Common Prayer, including the Liturgy and Ordinal, and to allow the receiving in two kinds on condition of Elizabeth acknowledging the Roman claims and receiving the book on his authority.[3] Elizabeth refused even to admit the nuncio into England. The time had gone by for such a thing, if it ever was possible. Nor would Elizabeth send her prelates to the Council of Trent, because England was summoned as a Protestant and not as a Catholic country. It is thought that Goldwell, the deprived Bishop of St. Asaph, who had fled to the Continent, was, when he returned to England, imprisoned for sitting as bishop in the Council.

The deprived bishops, after all hopes of gaining over Archbishop Parker were at an end,[4] were kindly treated[5] and generally lodged in the palace of some Reforming bishop.

The Puritans, and their opposition. The cross and crucifix.[6]

[1] See "Documentary Annals," i. 307; and Perry, pp. 276, 277.

[2] See the letter, "Documentary Annals," i. 285; and Blunt, ii. 429, 430.

[3] See the authority for this, Hook's "Parker," p. 263, f.n.

[4] See Heath's remonstrance and Parker's answer, *ibid.*, pp. 256–259.

[5] See Grindal's letter, "Zürich Letters," ii. x.

[6] See *ibid.*, as follows: The cross and crucifix, i. 27, 28, 29, 31; ii. 18, 19, and 20. Episcopal dress, ii. 17; i. 35. General view of the period, ii. 17, and 30.

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Add to this lecture: The Marriage law;[1] Deceased wife's sister; Bishop Jewel.[2]

LECTURE VII.

THE THIRTY-NINE ARTICLES.

[The following scattered notes comprise all that has been found in Mr. Moore's manuscript relating to the Thirty-nine Articles.]

THE Thirty-nine Articles and their history.[3]

The Articles not a *summa theologiæ*, but an authoritative decision on certain points then in controversy.

Hence the Anabaptists being a dying sect, several of the Anabaptist Articles were omitted.

The Thirty-nine and the Forty-two.

The Thirty-nine directed against—

(i.) Papists.

(ii.) Solifidians (Lutherans).

(iii.) Zwinglians, etc., Arians, etc.

(iv.) Anabaptists, etc.

Of these, the Anabaptists were the logical descendants of Luther; the Arians of Zwingli and Calvin.

View of Sampson and Humphrey on the twenty-eighth Article[4] as it stood in 1553.

Four omitted—

X. Grace.

XVI. Blasphemy against Holy Ghost.

XIX. Moral Law (part in VII.).

XLI. *v.* Millenarii.

Four added—

XXIX. Wicked who eat not.

XXX. Both kinds.

V. Holy Ghost.

XII. Good works.

[1] On which see Hook's "Parker," pp. 296 *sqq.*; Strype's "Parker," pp. 87, 88.

[2] Strype, *ibid.*, p. 111.

[3] See Hardwick, and Twenty-one Articles in Jewel's "Apology."

[4] "Zürich Letters," i. 165.

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Seventeen altered.

Generally accepted by Convocation, January 12, 1563.[1]

Forty-two presented on January 19.

Three erased, XXXIX., XL., and XLII., all relating to Anabaptism, January 29 (and also clause in Article III., Descent into Hell).

Sent down to Lower House, and passed before February 5.[2]

Variation between Parker's manuscript and printed copy.

Convocation of York? Archbishop and two suffragans signed (articles formally accepted by Northern Convocation in 1605).

XXXIX. readopted on May 11, 1571.[3]

LECTURE VIII.

THE CANON LAW OF THE ENGLISH CHURCH.

WE have traced the gradual consolidation of the English Church between the time of its final rejection of Rome in 1559, and the second meeting of Convocation and Parliament in the spring of 1563.

During that period its devotional system had been restored with the revised Prayer-book, its hierarchy had been preserved and extended by the consecration of Archbishop Parker and his suffragans, and now, finally, its doctrinal decision on the debated subjects of the day had been completed in the Thirty-nine Articles.

But in the meanwhile discipline had been provided for only by irregular, or at least temporary, expedients, by royal injunctions and archiepiscopal Articles, proclamations, etc. The canon law of the English Church was in abeyance.

What was the canon law of the Church of England? It was the growth of many centuries, and may be said to date from the Council of Hertford, the first provincial Council of

[1] Hardwick, p. 133. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 141. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 144.

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the English Church. It met according to the canons of the Universal and Undivided Church, passed at Nicæa and Chalcedon, under the first Archbishop of All England, Theodore, on September 24, 673. The British bishops had, of course, held their synods all along, but this was the first synod of the whole English Church.[1] To this provincial synod Theodore presented a Book of Canons, collected by Dionysius Exiguus early in the sixth century. Out of this Book of Discipline Theodore had selected ten points, or ten capitula (heads or articles),[2] as specially needful for the English Church. Of these ten, *nine* were passed, and may be called the first canons of the Church of England. At this time the English Church consisted of only seven bishoprics, under the metropolitan see of Canterbury. Between this time and the Reformation, English canon law had in its growth assimilated many foreign elements. The great Continental school of canon law on the Continent, Bologna, had elaborated a vast system, based on the Forged Decretals and consolidating the Hildebrandine view of the Papacy. How much of this had been incorporated into the canon law of the English Church, it is impossible to say, but it became plain to Henry that the Royal Supremacy and the canon law could not stand together. A less constitutionally minded tyrant than Henry would have abolished the canon law altogether, but either he or his advisers knew that it was bound up with the history and independence of 'the English Church, and therefore that the papal elements in it were adventitious and might be separated. Luther burnt the books of canon law; he and they had nothing in common. Henry was content to revise the canon law and remove what was not of home growth. Hence in the celebrated Submission of the Clergy, Convocation agrees—(1) that the ancient canon law shall be revised by a commission of thirty-two, and those canons abrogated which are contrary to the law of the land; (2) that no new canons shall be made without the licence of the Crown; and (3) that canons made after such licence shall be ratified by the Crown.

[1] See Bright's "Chapters of Early English Church History," p. 240, etc.
[2] *q.v.* ap. Bright, pp. 243-247.

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This plainly left the ancient canon law in force, except where it was proved to clash with statute law. Three times in Henry's reign had a statute been passed for the appointment of the commissioners (25 Hen. VIII. c. 19; 27 Hen. VIII. c. 15; and 35 Hen. VIII. c. 16), the powers conveyed by the Act being limited to three years. No revision seems to have taken place under Henry; and under Edward, in the year 1549, a new Act (3 & 4 Edw. VI. c. 11) was passed empowering the king to appoint thirty-two persons "to compile such ecclesiastical laws as should be thought convenient." This was a new departure. It implied not a revision of the old law, but a reconstruction. On October 6, 1551, the commission was appointed, consisting of eight bishops, eight divines, eight "civilians," and eight common lawyers;[1] but the commissioners who were mainly concerned in the work were Cranmer, Goodrich of Ely, Cox, Martyr, Taylor, May, Lucas, and Richard Goodrick. The work was not finished when the time allowed by the Act expired, and the Act was not renewed. Apparently the committee could not agree on the disciplinary canons;[2] at all events, eight sections are wanting. This was in 1552. Nearly twenty years afterwards (in 1571), the work which was known as "Reformatio Legum Ecclesiasticarum" was revised and adapted to the changed circumstances of the English Church. It was printed with a preface by John Foxe, and an attempt was made to pass it through Parliament. But the effort was ineffective. The queen was opposed to the Commons' intervention in ecclesiastical matters, and the "Reformatio Legum" remained without authority of any kind. If we have nothing else to thank Elizabeth for, we may thank her for saving us from a new set of ecclesiastical laws, "written in a most narrow and bigoted spirit, and enjoining such severe penalties, including death for obstinate heretics, as were worthy of the Inquisition."[3] It was no codification of the existing canon laws, but an attempt

[1] See the list and arrangements in the preface to Cardwell's edition of the "Reformatio Legum," p. vii., f.n.; and Blunt, ii. 113.

[2] See Cox to Bullinger, "Original Letters," i. 123.

[3] Blunt, ii. 115.

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to impose new laws on the Church; and it ended in "a laborious *fiasco.*"

The ancient canon law of the English Church, except where it clashes with the statute law, is binding on the clergy as much as ever it was,[1] and on lay Churchmen too, so far as the canons deal with the duties of laymen.

But, besides the body of ancient canon law, the English Church has certain canons which date from the Reformation age. We have seen how in the early part of Elizabeth's reign, before the attempt to revive Cranmer's reformed code, the immediate matters of discipline were provided for by royal Injunctions. This, however, was a provisional and temporary expedient. For more permanent canons, which should be really ecclesiastical law, the conditions necessary were—(i.) A writ requesting Convocation to deal with the subject; (ii.) the acceptance of the result by both Houses; and (iii.) the formal assent of the Crown.

While the Parliament of 1571 (which, in spite of the queen's objection, compelled subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles framed by Convocation in 1562, and formally ratified by both Houses in 1563) was making its ineffectual attempt to revive the "Reformatio Legum," Convocation was at work framing such canons as were needed for the circumstances of the age. Parker's Book of Articles of 1565 had been recast as the "Advertisements,"[2] but had failed to secure the queen's assent (1566). Indeed, there is no probability that they ever had more authority than that of archiepiscopal injunctions. We shall return to these when speaking of the Puritans. Nor did the canons framed by Convocation in this year, 1571, receive the royal assent. The queen was apparently annoyed at the interference of Parliament in the matter of subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles, and refused the grant of the "Book of Discipline." It had been mainly the work of Parker, Cox, and Horn, the Zürich sympathies of the two latter inclining them in favour of discipline. But the book was afterwards

[1] "The canons not being corrected to this day, the old ones are in force, with the exceptions above mentioned" (Neal's "Puritans," i. 11).

[2] "Documentary Annals," i. 287.

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signed by the Upper, but not the Lower, House of *each province* before June 4, 1571. It consisted of sixty canons—nine for bishops, six for deans, six for archdeacons, twelve for chancellors and other officials, eleven for churchwardens, four for preachers, one on residence, one on pluralities, four for schoolmasters, six for patrons; the whole being followed by a form of excommunication and the signatures of the two archbishops and twenty bishops.[1] Canons of 1575, 1585, 1597[2] all had what the 1571 canons had not—royal and full synodical authority. They were not revisions of the canons of 1571, but dealt in a regular and constitutional way with the difficulties which from time to time the Church had to meet. The last set, viz. the twelve published in 1597, to some extent embodied the earlier ones; but, in spite of their constitutional character, they all fell short of becoming true ecclesiastical laws, because the royal assent was limited to the reign of the sovereign who granted it. When James I., therefore, came to the throne, a complete revision of the canons of the Reformation period was set about, and the result is seen in the hundred and forty-one canons of 1603, which received the authority of Convocation and the Crown, and therefore take their place as ecclesiastical law. They embodied many of the Injunctions of Henry, Edward, and Elizabeth, as well as the various canons published in the reign of Elizabeth. For two hundred and sixty-two years they remained unaltered, till 1865, when by regular and constitutional procedure new canons were framed in place of Canons 36, 37, 38, and 40, relating to subscription of the clergy to the Thirty-nine Articles and their declaration against simony, approved by both Convocations, and confirmed by the Crown.[3]

The Reformation canons are a close parallel to the Thirty-nine Articles. Neither professed to cover the whole ground.

[1] See these canons, Cardwell's "Synodalia," vol. i. For subsequent history of canons in Elizabeth's reign, see Blunt, ii. 370–372.

[2] *q.v.* in Cardwell's "Synodalia," vol. i., Const. and Canons, ii.–iv.

[3] See Blunt, ii. 372. [An alteration in Canon 29, intended to permit parents to be god-parents for their own children, was approved by the Convocation of Canterbury in 1865, but not by that of York; nor has it yet been confirmed by the Crown.]

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The Articles were not a *summa theologiæ*, but the authoritative decision of the English Church on certain points of doctrine then in dispute. The canons could not and did not profess to take the place of the canon law; they added to it on certain disciplinary matters then under dispute. Whether in *doctrine*, *discipline*, or *worship*, in the Articles, the canons, or the Prayer-book, the Reformation presupposed the existence of the English Church. It is only lawyers who work on the assumption that "omission is prohibition," and hence their collision with *theologians*, *canonists*, and *ritualists*.

LECTURE IX.

THE BEGINNINGS OF ENGLISH PURITANISM—TROUBLES OF FRANKFORT.

[These notes are those of a lecture originally included in this course at this point, but are marked on the cover "Omitted in Lent Term," doubtless through press of matter. They are printed here as the subject is referred to in the opening words of the next lecture.]

(SEE "Troubles of Frankfort," Magdalen College Library, English reprint, 1846; "Original Letters," ccclvi.–ccclxiii.; Neal's "Puritans," vol. i. chaps. ii., iii.)

The Interim of Augsburg (1548) the beginning of English Puritanism.

Ridley attacks altars;

Hooper attacks vestments;

Bucer and Martyr attack Prayer-book.

John à Lasco, etc.

The eight hundred exiles at Zürich, Basle, Aarau, Frankfort, etc.

The Frankfort congregation.

Appeal to Calvin.

Calvin's letter and the Prayer-book: "tolerable fooleries," January 20, 1555.

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New Prayer-book constructed by Knox, Whittingham, Parry, Lever } accepted February 6.

To be used till end of April. Appeals in the interval to be referred to Calvin, Musculus, etc.

Cox arrives and protests, March 13, 1555.

Knox banished March 26, 1555.

Concession made of things supposed indifferent.[1]

The English Church at Frankfort; Cox, Sandys, Whitehead, Becon, Alvey, Grindal, Bale, Horn, Lever, Sampson.

The new troubles about discipline.

Seventy-three articles of Discipline, March, 1557, subscribed by 57.

Horn and twelve others dissent. The old Discipline and the new. "Troubles of Frankfort."

LECTURE X.

THE PURITANS IN ENGLAND—THE VESTIARIAN CONTROVERSY.

On reading the account of the troubles at Frankfort one would be inclined to assume that Cox and Grindal, and those who came with them to defend the Prayer-book, were rigid supporters of the details of the English form. This was the view taken by Calvin. He accused them of being "more given and addicted to their country than reason would," and held that they made "no concession or relation." So far was this from being the case that the English exiles, in a letter written to Calvin, declare it to be "a base and impudent falsehood." "We gave up," it is said, "private baptisms, confirmation of children, saints' days, kneeling at the Holy Communion, the linen surplices of the ministers, crosses, and other things of

[1] "Original Letters," ii. 754.

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a like character." They were given up not as "impure and papistical," but as things which gave offence, being in themselves "indifferent." It is plain that those who wanted more than this could have had no object but to reduce the faith of the English Church to conformity with the Swiss sects. We are surprised to find this letter to Calvin signed by *Cox*, afterwards Bishop of Ely; *Sandys*, afterwards Bishop of Worcester and of London, and finally Archbishop of York; *Grindal*, afterwards Bishop of London, Archbishop of York, and Archbishop of Canterbury; *Bale*, Bishop of Ossory; *Horn*, afterwards Bishop of Winchester; as well as by *Sampson*, *Whitehead*, *Lever*, *Alvey*, and *Becon*, who represented the more advanced section.[1]

We have seen from the Zürich letters which were written immediately on the return of the exiles, how the fear of a "farrago of religion" showed itself. It was not only the cross and crucifix in the queen's chapel, but the episcopal habits, the copes, and even the surplice which were "relics of the Amorites." They seemed to expect that at least the Reformation would be taken up at the point where it was left at Edward's death, instead of which the Prayer-book of 1559 restored the Catholic doctrine of the Eucharist, or at least added words which could not have been misunderstood, and revived the ancient habits of the Ornaments Rubric. The returned exiles had, during their sojourn among the Swiss, discovered many imperfections, if not "tolerable fooleries." Consequently as soon as the Convocation met in 1562, we find Bishop Sandys[2] proposing a list of changes, all in the direction of Puritanism.[3] Petitions of the same kind were sent up from the Lower House, signed by thirty-three members; this being rejected, another was presented to the Lower House, signed by forty-three members. This was, according to Neal,[4] only rejected by fifty-nine to fifty-eight, a majority of those actually present[5] being in

[1] "Original Letters," Nos. 357, 358, vol. ii. pp. 753 *sqq*.

[2] According to Neal, i. 121.

[3] See Cardwell, "Synodalia," ii. 498, f.n.; and the whole Convocation, pp. 438–537.

[4] i. 123.

[5] 43 *v*. 35.

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favour of this Puritan creed. This crisis past, the enforcement of the law was Parker's difficulty. Those who "scrupled the habits" included many venerated names, Coverdale and Foxe the martyrologist being the most distinguished. In some cases the irregularity was connived at; in many cases uniformity could not be enforced. The result was the state of things described in a paper presented to Cecil, dated February 24, 1564.[1]

The "Vestiarian controversy," as it was called, was raging in England. It was the burning question of the day, as we find from the "Zürich Letters." The returned exiles were divided among themselves. All agreed that the surplice ought to be got rid of, but some were willing to allow that it was a thing indifferent.

The Zürich divines were wise and moderate in their advice, recommending those who consulted them not to refuse preferment because of the habits, but to labour for the abolition of such "relics of the Amorites."

The Genevan party, Beza and Co., were more uncompromising. They declared that they would not receive the ministry on such terms, and recommended those who had complied to retire into private life.

The English bishops were divided, Parker, Horn, Jewel, Pilkington, Grindal, Sandys, Parkhurst, and Guest[2] being willing to conform, but with very different degrees of assent. Lawrence Humphrey (Regius Professor of Divinity, and President of Magdalen College, Oxford) and Sampson (Dean of Christ Church), however, and a number of lesser men refused conformity on any terms. Parker summoned them before him and argued with them,[3] but in vain. On March 20, 1564, they sent in a protest to the archbishop and commissioners, and also appeal to their profligate patron Leicester. Parker, however, was unyielding, and on April 29, 1564, they [were allowed to sign a compromise].[4]

[1] *q.v.* ap. Perry, p. 287; Neal, i. 125.
[2] For their views see *ibid.*, i. 129, 130.
[3] See some questions and answers, *ibid.*, i. 137, f.n.
[4] [Parker did not see his way clearly to deprive them. See his "Correspondence," p. 241.]

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LECTURE XI.

THE ADVERTISEMENTS AND THE FIRST SCHISM (1566).

IT was about this time that we first hear of the Archbishop Parker's Articles, better known by their later title as *The Advertisements.* The majesty of the law being vindicated by the deprivation of the non-conforming priests, Archbishop Parker interceded with the queen for a dispensing power in the matter of the habits, having already secured for Sampson a prebend at St. Paul's, while Humphrey, persuaded by Cecil to conform, became Bishop Jewel's chaplain and biographer, and afterwards Dean of Gloucester and then of Winchester. The queen, however, would hear of no relaxation and commanded the archbishop to enforce the law.

On March 3, 1565, the Articles were sent to Cecil for the queen's signature, which was refused. A year after, March 12, 1566, he made a new attempt to secure the royal authority, and, failing, published them under the title of *Advertisements.*[1]

Had the Advertisements authority sufficient to override the Act of Parliament?[2] They were not signed by the queen at the time, but issued with the new title by Parker. The archbishop, in his Articles of Enquiry, 1569, speaks of them as having "public authority," but clearly distinct from that of the Crown. Archbishop Whitgift also speaks of them, 1584, as authoritative, but calls them still Advertisements. The canons of 1571 quote them as authoritative, but those canons were never confirmed by the Crown. The canons of 1575 have a similar reference, which *was expunged* by the queen when they were confirmed. *E. contra* the canons of 1603 quote them as authoritative, and these were confirmed by King James. They were also recognized in the canons of 1640.

[1] "Documentary Annals," i. 287–297, and see f.n.
[2] See *ibid.*, i. 322, f.n.

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What was the meaning of the Advertisements? Was it an attempt to take further order?[1] or was it an attempt to enforce a minimum? Probably *both*. The Ornaments Rubric, which made the Edwardian vestments legal, had never been more than a dead letter. Even the surplice was in danger of being disused. Probably the archbishop's intention was to modify the law and enforce it, but the queen's refusal made this impossible. One thing is plain: the "Advertisements" were directed not against *ritualists*, but against *Puritans*. The queen's desire to enforce the letter of the law will explain her refusal to sign them. The archbishop's desire to conciliate the Puritans will explain the middle course adopted by him, and the fact that they were issued by the Court of High Commission would give them authority, or at least moral authority, with both Church and State.

Sampson and Lawrence Humphrey had been deprived[2] before the "Advertisements" were published. Parker had also, with some other ecclesiastical commissioners, attempted to reduce some of the recusant clergy to order. One hundred and forty were summoned to Lambeth, and all but thirty conformed. When the "Advertisements" were published, the London ministers, to the number of one hundred, were summoned to Lambeth and required to conform.[3] "Ye that will subscribe, write *Volo*; those that will not subscribe, write *Nolo*: be brief, make no words." Thirty-seven of the hundred refused, and were deprived. This was on March 26, 1566.

Two days later, on March 28, the archbishop writes to Grindal, Bishop of London, sending him a copy of the Advertisements, charging him "to see her majesty's lawes and injunctions duely observed within your diocese, and allso *theis* our convenient orders described in these bookes at theis present sent unto your lordship,"[4] the Royal Injunctions and

[1] [On this point consult Mr. J. Parker's pamphlet, "Did Queen Elizabeth take 'other order' in the Advertisements of 1566?" and his Postscript, both published during his discussion with Lord Selborne in 1878–9.]

[2] [Humphrey was not deprived of the Presidency. See Bloxam's "Register of the Presidents, etc., of Magdalen College, Oxford," iv. 116, note.]

[3] Neal, i. 141.

[4] "Documentary Annals," i. 335–337.

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the Act of Uniformity being clearly distinguished from the archiepiscopal "Advertisements." This letter alludes to the non-conforming clergy as "some few persons, I fear more scrupulous than godly prudent," and speaks of the suspension of the London non-conformists two days before.

The attempt to enforce the "Advertisements" was accompanied by the revoking of all licences for preachers. All preachers were now compelled to promise conformity as a condition of being licenced. There was, however, one curious exception which the archbishop could not touch. The University of Oxford was in the hands of the Anglo-Catholics, but Cambridge was Puritan. By a special privilege (1503) of Pope Alexander VI., "the Nero of the Papacy," the University of Cambridge [and that of Oxford also] had power to licence twelve preachers yearly without episcopal approval. The deprived clergy were not only able in this way to defy the archbishop as to licences, but, as the successors of the monastic preachers or regulars, to preach, not like the parish priests in surplice or alb, but in their usual academical dress. Parker in vain tried to get this privilege withdrawn.[1]

Meanwhile the deprived clergy were solemnly debating whether the question of habits justified an act of schism. A long correspondence with Bullinger and Gualter had resulted in strengthening such men as Grindal, though it had done little for Sampson and men like him. Still, there were many who, though they could not conscientiously conform, yet continued in the Church, as did Sampson, Humphrey, Foxe, Coverdale, Lever, and, indeed, all the more learned among the Puritans. These Strype calls those "of a more quiet and peaceable Demeanour."[2] But the other sort "disliked the whole Constitution of the Church lately reformed"; these separated and met for worship in private houses, where they even celebrated the Holy Communion (1566). This was the first schism in the English Church, and the schismatics were

[1] [At least one of the twelve, George Withers, of Corpus, was suspended by Parker, because his licence lacked the signature of the Chancellor of the University. Mullinger, "History of the University of Cambridge," ii. 197.]

[2] Strype's "Grindal," p. 114.

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the parents of the three hundred and eighty sects of the present day.[1]

What was the principle involved in the schism? Really whether the English Church is a new one, or the old Church reformed. The Anglo-Catholics fought for its continuity and identity. The Separatists wanted a new Church on the Swiss model. They looked upon the English Church as suffering from "arrested development." This was shown when the attack gradually shifted from the surplice to episcopacy. If bishop meant superintendent, the Separatists did not object; if bishop meant bishop, it was "papistry." The English Church had almost abandoned sacramentalism; the Anglo-Catholics clung to sacerdotalism and the Apostolical Succession. The Separatists hated both. Behind this was the objection to an "established" Church enforcing spiritual sentences with the civil sword. Hence the hatred of uniformity.[2]

[1] For the correspondence between England and Zürich on the Vestiarian controversy, see Burnet, iii., "Records," 75–85.

"Zürich Letters,"		
	I. lx., Humphrey to Bullinger (Are the vestments indifferent?)	Aug. 16, 1563.
	I. lxiv., Horn to Gualter (beginnings of Puritan separation)	July 17, 1565.
	I. app. ii., Bullinger to Horn (Churches not to be forsaken)	Nov. 3, ,,
	I. lxviii., Humphrey's questions to Bullinger	Feb. 9, 1566.
	I. lxix., Sampson's questions to Bullinger ..	Feb. 16, ,,
	I. app. iii., Bullinger's answer	May 1, ,,
	I. app. iv., Bullinger to Horn (refusing to recognize the separatists)	May 3, ,,
	II. xlix., Abel to Bullinger	June 6, ,,
	II. l., Coverdale, etc., etc., to Farell, etc. ..	July ,,
	I. lxxi., Sampson and Humphrey to Bullinger (flaws in English Church)	,, ,,
	I. lxxiii., Grindal's judgment on the Nonconformists	Aug. 27, ,,
	II. liv., Bullinger } still advise conformity ..	Sept. 10, ,,
	II. lv., Gualter } still advise conformity ..	Sept. 11, ,,
	I. lxxv., Grindal and Horn to Bullinger (on the deprived and defence of English Church)	Feb. 6, 1567.
	II. lix., Bullinger's view of Sampson.. ..	Mar. 15, ,,

[2] See Neal's (i. 100–2) points of difference between the Puritans and "the court-reformers"—

(i.) Puritans hated the union of Church and State.

(ii.) ,, said the Pope was antichrist. English Church said he was a true bishop, but not universal bishop.

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Definition of Terms.

(i.) Protestant—

(*a*) On Continent = Lutheran *v.* "Reformed."

(β) In England = Anglo-Catholic *v.* Papist and Puritan.

(ii.) Puritan—

(*a*) First used, according to Heylyn (ii. 421), of "the Zwinglian and Calvinian faction" in the English Church in 1565.

(β) Limited to the seceders of 1566.

(γ) Extended to all who, on the anti-Catholic side, refused conformity to English Church in Elizabeth's reign.

(iii.) Nonconformist = the generic name for those who refused the Act of 1662.

(iv.) Dissenter, used for all Nonconformists tolerated by the Act of 1689, *i.e.* all except Papists and Unitarians.

LECTURE XII.

ROME AND ENGLAND (1558–1570).

[These jottings represent, unfortunately, all that has been found of this lecture.]

PAUL IV., Caraffa, died *August* 18, 1559. Elizabeth a bastard. England a papal fee.

Pius IV. Conciliatory offers to recognize the Prayer-book, May 5, 1560.

Pius V. The bull, April 27, 1570.

(iii.) Puritans considered Holy Scripture standard of *doctrine* and DISCIPLINE —Bible and Bible only.

(iv.) ,, accepted only Biblical discipline. English Church Apostolic and primitive.

(v.) ,, held that things indifferent may not be ordered; English Church, that the Church *hath* power, etc. (Article xx.).

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The bishops who refused the oath;[1] their treatment. Change of policy in Rome. Paul IV. and Pius IV.[2] *May* 5, 1560, *letter.*

Parpaglia not allowed to land, 1561. Why?[3]

England refuses the Council of Trent. Why?[4] *Catholic and Protestant.*[5]

1562. Petty rebellion in Merton College.[6]

Act of 1563 (5 Eliz. c. 1),[7] "Marvellous outrage and licentious boldness," and (5 Eliz. c. 15) against witchcraft and prophecies.

1569. Northern rebellion, November, 1569 – January, 1570.[8]

Roman Catholics *v.* Anglo-Catholics.

Roman schemes.[9]

The bull, 1570, April 27.[10] "That roaring bull."[11]

The Roman schism.[12]

LECTURE XIII.

THE SCOTCH REFORMATION (1560–1592).

WHILE the Vestiarian controversy was raging in England, and the Puritans were preparing to separate from the Church of Christ, rather than wear the surplice and the college cap, Scotland was making a rapid transition from Catholicism to Calvinism.

In Scotland there was no middle party corresponding to the Anglo-Catholics of England. It was a question between Rome and Geneva, and everything tended to prejudice the people against Rome.

[1] Hook's "Parker," p. 259. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 262. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 265.
[4] *Ibid.*, p. 264. [5] *Ibid.*, pp. 264, 265.
[6] Heylyn, ii. 380, 381. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 389.
[8] Hook's "Parker," p. 402; "Documentary Annals," i. 347; Blunt, ii. 441.
[9] Ap. *ibid.*, ii. 434, etc. [10] "Documentary Annals," i. 363.
[11] Heylyn, ii. 421.
[12] Blunt, ii. 425, and quot. from Manning in 1845, ap. *ibid.*, ii. 427, 428.

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We have seen that John Knox was expelled from Frankfort in 1555 on the ground of his antinomian theories. In the May of the following year he is in Scotland, but [after] being [cited to appear before] the bishops returns to Geneva in obedience to a call from the English congregation there. He was again [cited and formally] condemned in his absence, and from Geneva wrote a defence and appeal. In the year 1557 he attempted to return; but on arriving at Dieppe, found it better to retire to Geneva. Meanwhile Protestantism of a Swiss complexion was advancing in Scotland, an attempt being made to adopt [in part] the English Prayer-book of 1552.[1] John Hamilton, Archbishop of St. Andrew's and Primate of Scotland, under whose auspices the Catechism of 1552 was published, attempted to stop the spread of heresy, and on April 28, 1558, Walter Mylne, the last Protestant "martyr," was burnt. The immediate result was an increase of Protestantism. The queen regent, Mary of Lorraine, anxious for the Parliamentary ratification of her daughter's marriage with the Dauphin, consented to a compromise, which the [Protestant] lords accepted. In March, 1559, the provincial synod met. Articles of Reformation were laid before it, but the actual canons passed were inadequate to the occasion, and the provincial synod never met again.[2]

In May, 1559, John Knox returned, after a three years' residence in Geneva, where he had published the "First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment of Women." Though Mary of England, against whom it was directed, was now dead, her sister felt equally aggrieved by the "Blast," and refused to allow Knox to pass through England. He arrived at Perth at a critical moment. A violent attack on the monasteries followed. The queen regent took the field against the Lords of the Congregation, but in vain. Under the leadership of the Earl of Argyll and

[1] Grub, ii. 50.

[2] [On these Articles of Reformation, see Grub, ii. 55, 56, and compare, as to the relations to each other of the two sets of articles there mentioned, Bellesheim's "History of the Catholic Church of Scotland," ii. 240–243 of the English translation, and Robertson's "Statuta Ecclesiæ Scoticanæ," where the canons of the council are also to be found.]

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Prior of St. Andrew's, the monasteries at Stirling and elsewhere were destroyed. The death of Henry II. (June 29, 1559) and the accession of Francis II. and Mary Queen of Scots to the throne of France seem to have had no effect but to intensify the opposition between the regent and the Reformed till, in October, Knox declared her deprived. Her death took place on June 10 of the following year, 1560. But by this time an English army had appeared in Scotland. Elizabeth had little sympathy with Puritanism, and none with John Knox; but the fear of French influence outbalanced everything, and a league was formed in which England and Scotch Puritanism united against France and Catholicism. After desultory engagements, negotiations were entered into by French and English commissioners, which made arrangements as to religion, government, etc., during the queen's absence. This is known as the Treaty of Edinburgh, July 6. But the Reformed were now predominant, and they now set to work to prepare "the Confession of Faith and Doctrine believed and professed by the Protestants of the Realm of Scotland." On August 17, in spite of the opposition of the primate and the Bishops of Dunkeld and Dunblane, it received Parliamentary sanction. Three anti-papal Acts followed on August 25.[1] The Confession was followed the next year by a Book of Discipline, divided into nine heads,[2] *and the English Prayer-book was superseded by the Order of Geneva.* Superintendents were appointed in place of bishops; but as they were not consecrated, a deliberate substitution of Presbyterianism for the Catholic order was implied. On December 20, 1560, the first General Assembly met. News of the change in religion was sent to Mary by Sir James Sandilands, Prior of the Knights of St. John; and the death of Francis (December 5, 1560) left the widow of nineteen years of age free to return to Scotland. She with difficulty escaped the English ships and arrived at Leith on August 19, 1561.

From this time dates the dreary struggle between the

[1] For the Confession, see Grub, ii. 89. It had been compiled by Knox, Winram, Spottiswood, etc.

[2] See *ibid.*, ii. 92.

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queen and such bishops as held true to the Catholic Church on the one side, and the Lords of the Congregation and John Knox on the other. There was no middle term between Rome and Geneva. The archbishop and others are brought to trial in 1563 for saying Mass and hearing confessions, and many are compelled to fly the country. On July 29, 1565, the Book of Common Order finally supersedes the English Prayer-book. The queen's marriage with Darnley (July 29, 1565), and the birth (June 19) and baptism (December 15) of James VI. in 1566, the year in which Riccio was murdered (March 9), the murder of Darnley in the following year (February 10, 1567), were followed by the imprisonment of the queen (June 16) and her abdication (July 24). A few days after the Prince James is crowned (July 29, 1567). The queen, after her escape from Lochleven, annuls her abdication and takes the field against her rebel subjects. The battle of Langside proved the hopelessness of her cause (May 13, 1568), and she fled to England. Three years after, Hamilton, the Archbishop of St. Andrew's and Primate of Scotland, was taken (April 2, 1571) and hanged (April 7) [on the charge of complicity in the murder of Darnley].

Presbyterianism was now supreme. Scotland had cut herself off from the Church of Christ and joined the Church of Calvin. The name of bishop and archbishop was retained for the time, and a form of ordination was gone through, but the Scotch were as careless as the English were careful about the continuity of the priesthood.[1] Scotch Presbyterianism thus takes its place with the numerous sects which began at the Reformation. It is [established by law as] the Church of Scotland, but it has no organic unity with the pre-Reformation Church. Its indifference to the Apostolical Succession laid it open to the charge of schism; its adoption of the awful teaching of Geneva laid it open to the charge of accepting a new gospel.[2]

[1] See Grub on the one fatal deficiency, ii. 180.

[2] For the Confession, see *ibid.*, ii. 89, etc. See also the Summary of Winzet's eighty-three questions, *ibid.*, ii. 117, etc. On the relation of Scotch Presbyterianism and English Puritanism, see *ibid.*, 252.

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Why was there in Scotland no middle course between Rome and Geneva?

[The views of the reforming party within the Church represented by Winzet, Quentin Kennedy, and perhaps by the Articles presented to the Provincial Council of 1559, as preserved in the Acts of the council.]

Add to this a sketch of Scotch history to the establishment of Presbyterianism, 1592.[1]

[January, 1572. Conventicle at Leith.][2]

[1575. Andrew Melville.]

July, 1580. Abolition of bishops at Dundee.[3]

April 24, 1581. Abolition of bishops confirmed at Glasgow.[4]

January, 1584. Robert Browne in Dundee.[5]

February 8, 1587. Execution of Mary.

February 9, 1589. Bancroft's sermon at Paul's Cross.[6]

1590. Penry in Scotland.[7]

English views of Scotch Reformation.[8]

June, 1592. Presbyterianism established.[9]

Second Book of Discipline on the Orders of the Church.[10]

LECTURE XIV.

THE REFORMATION IN IRELAND UP TO 1603.

IRELAND, after four centuries of English rule, consisted of two nations—the native population on the one side, the English settlers on the other. The two nations spoke different languages, but were bound together in an ecclesiastical, if not a national unity. The King of England was King of Ireland, though with the title *Dominus Hiberniæ*, and in all matters touching the royal prerogative Ireland was dependent on England.

[1] Grub, ii. chaps. xxxviii.–xlii. [2] *Ibid.*, ii. 174 *sqq.*
[3] *Ibid.*, p. 212. [4] *Ibid.*, p. 216. [5] *Ibid.*, p. 231.
[6] *Ibid.*, p. 254. [7] *Ibid.*, p. 249. [8] *Ibid.*, p. 253.
[9] *Ibid.*, p. 260. [10] *Ibid.*, p. 218.

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The Irish Parliament at this time consisted of a House of Lords and a House of Commons. The House of Lords was composed of English lay peers, bishops, and twenty-four heads of religious houses. There were, it is said (by Ball), no Irish peers. The House of Commons consisted of less than one hundred members, amongst whom no native, even if elected, was allowed to sit.

The Irish Church consisted of four archbishoprics, Armagh, Dublin, Cashel, and Tuam, with twenty-six suffragans. The primacy rested with Armagh, but there seems to have been but little ecclesiastical organization, and there was no Irish *Convocation*. The Irish Church was therefore unrepresented, except by the bishops and the heads of the religious houses, who, till the Suppression, sat in the Lords.

In 1534 (November session), Henry was declared Supreme Head, the title being "recognized by the clergy, and authorized by Parliament." Whether this act was, as some think, valid for Ireland or not, the claim was not asserted in Ireland till the next year, 1535. And it met with great opposition from the primate, Archbishop Cromer of Armagh, who advanced the view that the royal authority could not displace the Pope, whose predecessor, Adrian IV., had given Ireland to the king's predecessor, Henry II., in 1154.

The see of Dublin was now vacant (since July), and the king appointed to it George Browne, Provincial of the Augustinian Friars in England, a Reformer, but of a less advanced type than Bale, later Bishop of Ossory. On March 19, 1536, Archbishop Browne was consecrated [at Lambeth] by Cranmer, [Shaxton, and Hilsey], and became Henry's instrument for carrying out the Reformation in Ireland.

In May, 1537, the Irish Parliament met but the proctors of the clergy, two for each diocese, who claimed to vote in the Commons, were excluded as "counsellors, not members."[1] After this high-handed repression of the representatives of the clergy three anti-papal Acts were passed, in spite of the

[1] See the letter of the Lord Deputy to Crumwell, Mant, i. 119.

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opposition of the spiritual peers. By the first, 28 Hen. VIII. c. 5 (Irish), King Henry was declared Supreme Head of the Church of Ireland; by the second (*ibid.*, c. 6) all appeals to Rome were restrained; while the third was directed against the authority of the Bishop of Rome (*ibid.*, c. 13). These were accompanied by various spoliation Acts, as in England. First-fruits were transferred to the Crown (*ibid.*, c. 8), thirteen religious houses suppressed (*ibid.*, c. 16), twentieths on all ecclesiastical promotions were granted to the king (*ibid.*, c. 14), Peter pence prohibited (*ibid.*, c. 19); while, in order to Anglicize the country, it was ordained that no spiritual promotion should be granted to any except "such as could speak English, unless, after four proclamations in the next market town, such could not be had" (*ibid.*, c. 15).

Though these Acts were resisted by the papal party, and especially by the primate, no bishop seems to have been deprived under the Supremacy Act. A bull of excommunication followed as a matter of course on the one side, and the entire suppression of the monasteries on the other.[1]

A few years later, 1542, Parliament passed, amid general rejoicing, an Act (33 Hen. VIII. c. 1) that the King of England should be in future *King*, not *Lord*, of Ireland. The change made no difference to Henry's power, but the title of "lord" was supposed to imply that the King of England held his lordship under the Bishop of Rome.

On March 15, 1543, Archbishop Cromer died, and Henry appointed "Parson" Dowdall as his successor, in return for the voluntary surrender of his Crutched Friary at Ardee. The new primate, in a synod held in 1545, showed that in accepting the primacy he had not abandoned the Papacy, and his opposition comes out strongly in the succeeding reign.

The high-handed dealing of Henry with Ireland was carried even further in the next reign. From Henry's death, 1547, to the year 1555, no Parliament was held, but changes in religion

[1] Of the fourteen great abbeys suppressed, all except two were Cistercian; of the ten priories, eight were Augustinian, one Benedictine, and one of St. John of Jerusalem. The total number of houses suppressed is said to have been three hundred and seventy, with an annual revenue of £32,000 (Mant, i. 155-9).

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were carried out by royal authority, through the Lord Deputy and the archbishops.

By a canon of the Synod of Cashel, passed in 1152, it was ordered that "*omnia divina ad instar sacrosanctæ ecclesiæ, juxta quod Anglicana observat ecclesia, in omnibus partibus Hiberniæ amodo trahantur.*" In all probability the Sarum Use was in vogue in Ireland till the year 1551, when the Prayer-book of 1549 was ordered to be used in all the parish churches. The language of this order[1] is remarkable. It speaks of the English book as a *translation*, probably in the sense in which Cranmer explained to the Devonshire rebels that it was but the old service-book in their own language. The Lord Deputy, Sis Anthony St. Leger, on March 1, 1551, summoned an assembly of archbishops and bishops and the clergy of Ireland, and acquainted them with the king's order; whereupon the primate Dowdall strongly opposed the Prayer-book on the ground that "every illiterate fellow" would read Mass. After a violent altercation with the Lord Deputy, the primate, with all his suffragans, except Bishop Staples of Meath, left the assembly. The Archbishop of Dublin was then ordered to enforce the Prayer-book, and the order was carried out in Christ Church Cathedral, Dublin, on Easter Day, March 29, 1551. An order was also given for the translation of the Prayer-book into Irish, but the substitution of the Second Prayer-book for the First in England, and the death of the king, prevented its being carried out. The Second Prayer-book of Edward VI. was never authorized in Ireland.

The opposition of Archbishop Dowdall cost him his primacy. There had long been a contest between the two sees of Armagh and Dublin, as between York and Canterbury in England. The Archbishop of Dublin was Primate of Ireland; the Archbishop of Armagh, Primate of All Ireland. This precedence was now reversed by an order of king and council, the dignity of Primate of All Ireland being conferred on Archbishop Browne; and Dowdall fled to the Continent, where he lived till the end of the reign.[2] An Englishman,

[1] See the order (February 6) in Mant, i. 194.

[2] [Deprived October 20, 1551; died in London, August 15, 1558.]

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Hugh Goodacre, was appointed to succeed him, and Bale was made Bishop of Ossory, a see now vacant by death. Goodacre and Bale were the first Irish bishops consecrated by the Ordinal of 1550. Both were consecrated on February 2, 1553, in Christ Church, Dublin.

Bishop Goodacre died a few weeks before King Edward VI., so that on Mary's accession the see of Dublin was vacant. Archbishop Dowdall was restored to his see, and the primacy was given back to the see. Archbishop Browne, with Bishops Staples (Meath), Lancaster (Kildare), and Travers (Leighlin), were deprived; Bale (Ossory) and Casey (Limerick) fled. The archiepiscopal see of Dublin was vacant for two years, till February 22, 1555, when Hugh Curwen was nominated, and consecrated in St. Paul's Cathedral on September 8. The other new bishops were all Irish—Walsh (Meath), Leverous (Kildare), Field (Leighlin), Lees (Limerick), Thorney or Thonery (Ossory). A provincial synod met to restore Roman rites, and Romanism was formally restored by Parliament in June, 1556. Pope Paul IV.'s bull was transmitted through Cardinal Pole, and Ireland reconciled to the Roman see.

On the accession of Elizabeth, the Earl of Sussex was appointed Deputy, and received instructions "to set up the worship of God as it is in England." Archbishop Curwen, who had succeeded Browne, was a man of compliant views. He was what Strype calls "a complier in all reigns." In Henry's reign he defended the Royal Supremacy and the union with Anne Boleyn. Yet he held strongly to Transubstantiation, and is said to have been responsible for the death of Frith. In Mary's reign he was a papist, and branded his predecessor's children as "bastards." When Elizabeth succeeded he changed sides once more, and, Archbishop Browne having died soon after his deprivation, continued Archbishop of Dublin.

A Parliament met in January, 1560, and passed a Supremacy Act (2 Eliz. c. 1), a Uniformity Act authorizing the 1559 Prayer-book, but allowing a *Latin translation* (Walter Haddon's, published 1560), and an Act giving first-fruits to the Crown, and decreeing the abolition of the *congé d'élire*. With

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regard to this last Act, we may notice that in Mary's reign it had been decided that, by the Common Law, a *congé d'élire* was not required. Dowdall had died (August 15, 1558) just before Queen Mary, but no appointment was made to the primacy till the winter of 1562, when Adam Loftus was appointed, and consecrated the following March. Five years later (1567), when Archbishop Curwen became Bishop of Oxford, Loftus was translated to Dublin. Two bishops only, Leverous (Kildare) and Walsh (Meath), were deprived for refusing the oath of supremacy, and they were succeeded by Alexander Craike and Hugh Brady.

The Thirty-nine Articles were never enforced in Ireland, but on January 20, 1566, a "Book of the Articles" was authorized by the Lord Deputy, the archbishops and bishops, and the High Commissioners. These articles are the Eleven Articles of Archbishop Parker, published five years before, with a twelfth expressing general consent.

Nothing was done to give either the Bible or Prayer-book to the Irish in the vulgar tongue. Two copies of the Bishops' Bible in English, the gift of Archbishop Heath of York, were placed in the choirs of the two cathedrals of Christ Church and St. Patrick's, and the Latin version of the Prayer-book of 1559 was allowed to those who did not understand English; but neither the Prayer-book (translated 1608) nor the New Testament (translated 1602) existed [before 1600] in Irish, and the Old Testament was not translated till 1685.

Even before the bull of Pius V. (1570) we find titular archbishops and bishops appointed by the Pope, and these were already scheming for a Spanish invasion. In 1578–80 an English fugitive was appointed to lead papal and Spanish forces into Ireland, plenary pardons being granted to all Irish who took arms against the queen. In 1580 seven hundred Spaniards and Italians landed in Kerry, where they fortified themselves; and when summoned by the Lord Deputy to surrender, answered that they held it for the Pope and the King of Spain, to whom the Pope had given the kingdom of Ireland. Rheims, Douai, and Louvain were now sending over their trained emissaries; and the Irish Church, to judge

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by the letters of the Lord Deputies,[1] was in no state, either of learning or morals, to offer effectual resistance. Under Archbishop Henry Ussher, who succeeded to the primacy in 1595, there seemed some hopes of winning over the papists. This Archbishop Ussher was uncle to the great James Ussher, who at nineteen years of age answered the Jesuit Henry Fitz-Symonds. An order was made by the Irish Government in 1599 compelling all papists, under a fine of twelve pence, to attend church every Sunday. The overthrow of the Spaniards in the battle of Kinsale (December 24, 1601) had made them lose heart, and they were beginning to return to the National Church. James Ussher was active in bringing them back, when the English Government reversed its policy just as it seemed to be bearing such fruit as such policy could hope for, and, by the advice of Lord Mountjoy, the Lord Deputy determined not to enforce the Act of Uniformity.

It was on this occasion, in 1601, that Ussher is said to have preached a prophetic sermon on Ezekiel iv. 6, "Thou shalt bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days: I have appointed thee each day for a year." Applying this to the new policy of toleration, he said, "From this year will I reckon the sin of Ireland, that those whom you now embrace shall be your ruin, and you shall bear their iniquity." It was exactly forty years afterwards that the rebellion broke out, which ended in the massacre of many thousands of Irish Protestants.

Yet, in spite of Ussher's protest, it is refreshing in an age of intolerance to learn that "no imprisonment, banishment, or execution of any priest for sake of religion took place."[2]

Trinity College, Dublin, founded 1591.[3]

[1] *q.v.* ap. Mant, i. 297 *sqq.* and 320 *sqq.*
[2] Plowden (R. C.), "Hist.," i. 331.
[3] Trinity College, Dublin, Library: see Mant, i. 340.

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LECTURE XV.

THE FOUR STAGES OF PURITANISM.

FOUR stages in English Puritanism.[1]

(i.) Conforming Puritans—Grindal, Sandys, Jewel, etc.

(ii.) Non-conforming Puritans—Humphrey, Lever, Sampson, etc.

(iii.) Presbyterians—Cartwright, Travers, etc.

(iv.) Independents—Brownists and Barrowites.

In the early days of the Reformation in Elizabeth's reign, it was taken for granted that the cause of the Reformers was the same in England and Scotland, because they were both opposed to the common enemy Rome. In the "Zürich Letters" we find Jewel and Parkhurst rejoicing over the rapid progress of the Scotch Reformation. "The Scots," says Parkhurst in August, 1560, "have made greater progress in true religion in a few months, than we have done in many years;"[2] while Jewel, writing in 1562, says, "Religion is most favourably received, firmly maintained, and daily making progress in that country."[3] As, however, the Puritan faction in England showed their true colours, and the Presbyterian character of the new Scotch Church became clear, English Churchmen realized the fact that John Knox and the Lords of the Congregation, while they had much in common with the non-conforming Puritans, were of a different spirit from the English Church. At the same time, the English Puritans who had seceded from the Church in 1566, and formed separate conventicles, realized their kinship with Scotch Presbyterianism. The Puritans were, indeed, Presbyterians before they knew it, but it was only gradually that the fact became plain.

[1] See an excellent passage quoted from Bishop Cooper's "Admonition" in Hooker, i. 142, f.n.

[2] "Zürich Letters," i. 37.

[3] *Ibid.*, i. 44.

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From the first the real question concealed by the Vestiarian controversy was—"*Is the English Church to retain a real episcopacy and defend its continuity with the Church of St. Augustine, or is it to become a Presbyterian sect?*"

This plain issue was put before Englishmen by Thomas Cartwright. He had taken part in the Cambridge "Act" in 1564, when Elizabeth was present, and had apparently been thrown into the shade by a rival from King's College. He soon after retired to Geneva, where he became intimate with Beza, and distinguished himself for his attacks upon episcopacy. When, in 1570, he returned to England, he was replaced in the Margaret Professorship of Divinity, and soon began to ventilate his Presbyterian views. Here, as Fellow of Trinity, he came into collision with Whitgift, the master, who was also Regius Professor of Divinity. He had persuaded all the Fellows and scholars to refuse to wear the surplice, and had in his lectures made such statements as brought him under suspicion of heresy. On his refusing to recant, Whitgift, as vice-chancellor, deprived him of his professorship (December, 1570) and fellowship (September, 1571).[1]

Cartwright did not, however, at once separate from the Church. There was yet hope that the English Church might be turned into a Presbyterian sect, and give up Catholicism for Calvinism. The attempt to do this was made in the Parliament of 1571, the proposal being to substitute for the Thirty-nine Articles a Protestant confession of faith, to carry out various proposed reformations, and to omit the Office for the Consecration of Bishops. This was the scheme of Mr. Strickland, defended by Mr. Wentworth.[2] The Puritans, however, were in the minority; and not only did their scheme fail, but the Parliament, in spite of the queen's prohibition, passed a statute (13 Eliz. c. 12) making subscription to the Thirty-nine Articles necessary; while the parallel attempt

[1] Neal, i. 175. [Mr. Mullinger, "History of the University of Cambridge," ii. 193, n., rejects the rivalry story, and points out that there is no evidence that Cartwright visited Geneva prior to his removal from his professorship. See also p. 226. In 1565 he retired to Ireland, and on his return to Cambridge in 1569 was elected to the Margaret Professorship. *Ibid.*, pp. 200, 207.]

[2] See Hook's "Parker," pp. 409, 410; Neal, i. 176, etc.; Perry, p. 295.

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to create a new canon law in the *Reformatio Legum* also failed, though Convocation passed the canons of 1571.

It is said that one hundred clergymen were deprived for refusing to subscribe to the Thirty-nine Articles. The University of Cambridge was "a nest of Puritans" (Neal), and gave the vice-chancellor, Dr. Whitgift, much trouble.[1] In 1572 Mr. Wentworth again brought in two Bills for Calvinizing the Church; but the queen now determined to interfere, and refused to allow any Bill respecting religion to be received till it had been approved by Convocation. It was this that called forth the "Admonitions to Parliament," of which the first was drawn up by Mr. Field and Wilcox. It was a scheme for a Presbyterian and democratic Church, attacked with some severity of language the existing episcopate, and prayed Parliament for a discipline more consonant to the Word of God and the Reformed Churches. The authors were committed to Newgate, October 12, 1572, and Cartwright drew up the "Second Admonition." Of Thomas Cartwright, Neal remarks that "he was at the head of a new generation of Puritans, of warmer spirits; who opened the controversy with the Church into other branches, and struck at some of the main principles of the hierarchy."[2] In other words, Puritanism was now becoming consciously Presbyterian.[3] The "Second Admonition" consisted of twenty-three chapters,[4] and was answered by Dr. Whitgift, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Cambridge, Master of Trinity College, and Regius Professor of Divinity; but, as Neal says, the controversy could not be settled, since the combatants had different

[1] Mr. Charke, in 1572, preaching at St. Mary's, put down episcopacy to Satan (Neal, i. 187), and had to apologize.

[2] *Ibid.*, i. 189, f.n.

[3] [From a detached slip by Mr. Moore.] Though Puritanism took the form of Presbyterianism, the name was given to all who refused conformity on the Protestant side, just as *non-conformist* was the generic name for all those who refused the Act of 1662, and *dissenter* for those tolerated by the Act of 1689 (*i.e.* all except Papists and Unitarians). According to Heylyn, ii. 421, the name Puritan dates from 1565; [Fuller, ii. 474, says, about 1564. See on the nomenclature of English Dissent an excellent article in No. 32, July, 1883, of the *Church Quarterly Review.*]

[4] *q.v.* ap. Neal, i. 192.

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standards—Cartwright contending for the Bible, and the Bible only, as the rule of faith and discipline; while Whitgift argued that the Bible was the standard of faith, but not of discipline. The Admonitions called forth the proclamation of October 20, 1573,[1] and the same year saw the formation of *the first Presbytery in England.* Two years later (1575), Cartwright published his second reply to Whitgift, and a second part in 1577, after he had fled from England.

While Puritanism was thus passing into Presbyterianism it was already beginning to give birth to a new form of anti-episcopal Christianity in the sect of the Independents. Robert Browne, the founder of this sect, had been one of the Puritans summoned to Lambeth in June, 1570 (?).[2] He was domestic chaplain to the Duke of Norfolk, and at first escaped deprivation, apparently through the influence of his family. He was first a schoolmaster, then a lecturer in Islington, and seems to have gone about preaching against the Church in the diocese of Norwich. In 1581 the Bishop of Norwich committed him to the custody of the sheriff, but he was soon after released, and in 1582 published a book on "The Life and Manners of all True Christians," with a preface on "Reformation without tarrying for any." He was again taken into custody, and released at the intercession of the Lord Treasurer. At length he gathered together a congregation of those who adopted his principles, and for this was compelled to fly from England [to Middleburg in Holland]. In 1589 he returned, and, renouncing his principles of separation, conformed, and became (1591) a rector in Northamptonshire, where, according to Fuller, he lived a dissolute life, so that at the age of eighty-one he was imprisoned for assaulting the parish constable, and died in 1603 in Northampton Gaol. Browne was succeeded by Barrowe, whence the name Barrowists given to the early Independents, and the sect multiplied, especially during the time of the Mar-prelate controversy. Between 1583 and 1593 five Independents were put to death—

[1] "Documentary Annals," I. lxxix. and lxxx.
[2] See Neal, i. 246–248.

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Thacker and Copping in 1583, and, ten years later, Barrowe, Greenwood, and John Penry.[1]

Persecution of the Independents.—It was the work of the State, not of the Church, in spite of the persistent misrepresentations of their modern successors.[2] The Barrowists were supposed to be dangerous to the State, and were so considered by the Puritans themselves.[3] The first two victims fell under the Libel Act of 1581; the other three were sacrificed to the queen's anger at the Mar-prelate libels.[4] No execution of Independents took place after 1593.[5] Under the leadership of Robinson and Ainsworth they emigrated to Holland, and in 1620, as Pilgrim Fathers, sailed in the *Mayflower* for America.

Were they martyrs? "*Causa non pœna facit martyres.*" What was their cause? *Not* liberty of conscience, but a particular theory of the Church, which they wished the State to enforce at the point of the sword.[6] Were they apostles of toleration? See Curteis on the Pilgrim Fathers,[7] and the attempts to *establish* Congregationalism in 1657.[8]

We have traced Puritanism in England through its four stages. Appearing first of all among the exiles who "scrupled the habits," it soon parted into two branches—those who conformed, like Grindal, Jewel, Sandys, etc.; and those, like Lever, Sampson, and Humphrey, who refused conformity. The name Puritan was limited to those who refused to conform, and who, after the Advertisements in 1566, began to set up separate conventicles. With Cartwright and Travers, Puritanism entered on its third or Presbyterian phase, and with Browne and Barrowe it took a new shape in the sect of the Independents.[9]

[1] For the Brownists, see Curteis, 68 sqq; Heylyn, "Presbyterians," p. 295; Neal, i. 246–248. [As to the Middleburg Prayer-book of 1584–5, see Procter, p. 86.]

[2] See Curteis, p. 75. [3] See the appeal of the Justices, ap. Neal, i. 254.

[4] See, too, Lord Bacon's judgment and Sir Walter Raleigh's (Curteis, p. 74).

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 79.

[6] See Neal, i. 247, 248, on their doctrines, and Curteis, p. 78.

[7] Page 82. [8] Curteis, p. 87.

[9] See all these clearly distinguished in a quotation from Bishop Cooper, ap. Hooker, i. 142, f.n.

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Of all the two hundred and twenty registered sects of the present day, *the Presbyterians* and *the Independents* are the only ones which, in their present form, can be traced back to the sixteenth century. But two other sects are to be found in the germ in the Anabaptism of Elizabeth's age. Among these Anabaptists, there was a broadly marked distinction between the Dutch and the German types, while the two forms of German Anabaptism differed widely from one another.

Dutch Anabaptism was represented by *the Family of Love, or Familists*, who derived their doctrines from Henry Nicholas, a Dutchman, and published a confession of faith in 1575. They seem to have freely allegorized Holy Scripture, and to have held whimsical views on spiritual perfection, etc., and to have become very lax in morals. This more purely mystical Christianity, which showed itself as Quietism within the Roman Church, reappeared in England as QUAKERISM in the next century. Four days before King Charles surrendered, George Fox was meditating in the fields near Coventry, and there received his revelation, in pursuance of which he founded the Society of Friends (May 1, 1646. King surrendered May 5.)[1]

Of the German Anabaptists, one class differed mainly on the question of infant baptism and the necessity of immersion. These were the forerunners of the BAPTISTS of the next century. In 1633 a body of strict Independents, strongly influenced by Anabaptist views, formed themselves into a fresh communion for the maintenance of a stricter Calvinism, a severer discipline, and a more literal adherence to Scripture in baptism.[2]

The other class of German Anabaptists are those most commonly intended by that name. They were enthusiasts, with socialistic and levelling views such as those which stirred up the Peasant War. They were persecuted by the State in every reign throughout the Reformation period. A very

[1] For the Familists, see Hooker, vol. i. pp. 148, 149, f.n. and references. See, too, Neal, i. 222, and "Documentary Annals," I. xcii.

[2] See Curteis, p. 212.

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large proportion of the burnings in Queen Mary's reign were the burnings of Anabaptists from Holland and elsewhere, who had settled in the eastern counties. In 1575 twenty-seven Anabaptists were taken holding a religious meeting in London. Some recanted their errors, among which errors we find the denial of the Incarnation, and of the right to take an oath, or to serve as a magistrate. Eleven of the twenty-seven were condemned to be burnt; but of these, nine were banished and two were burnt at Smithfield on July 22, 1575, under the writ *de heretico comburendo*, now revived after seventeen years.

LECTURE XVI.

THE STRUGGLE OF THE CHURCH WITH PURITANISM—THE PROPHESYINGS (1571–1577).

THERE was at least one virtue unknown in the sixteenth century, the virtue of toleration. To our minds the attempt to compel belief by law is equally irrational and immoral, whether it take the form of the Six Articles Law, or an Act of Uniformity, or a Public Worship Regulation Act. The consolidation of the English Church was due not to the Uniformity Acts, but to the constructive apologetics of Bishop Jewel and Richard Hooker. To this Skeats[1] candidly bears witness. "Jewel, Hooker, Burnet, and Pearson," he says, "have probably done more to hold the Church of England together than all its Acts of Uniformity." But, as we have seen, intolerance was the order of the day. Presbyterians believed that the system of John Calvin was divinely revealed, and therefore to be enforced. The Brownists believed the same of their congregationalism. Nonconformist historians speak of the intolerance of the Church; they often forget that the sects were as intolerant when they had the power. Luther had no pity for Anabaptists; Calvin burnt Servetus. Skeats[2]

[1] "Free Churches," p. 28.

[2] Page 20, apud Curteis, p. 69, f.n.

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says of Cartwright[1] that "if he had been in Whitgift's place, he would have dealt equal persecution to Baptists and Independents." We have seen what the "Pilgrim Fathers" meant by toleration. The modern Congregationalist poses as the apostle of toleration, but when, under the Commonwealth, the Quakers were imprisoned and pilloried by thousands, the persecutors were Independents and Presbyterians. Oliver Cromwell summed up the case when he said, "Every sect saith, 'O give me liberty.' But give it him, and to his power, he will not yield it to anybody else."[2]

The Puritans with whom the Church of England came in conflict during the last thirty years of Elizabeth's reign, were men who had more or less consciously adopted a Presbyterian theory of the Church. The stages in the development of their views are shown in the two great controversies of the age; (i.) the exercises or *prophesyings;* (ii.) *the Marprelate libels.*

The prophesyings date back as far as the year 1571. They were an attempt to carry out literally the words of 1 Cor. xiv. 31: "Ye may all prophesy one by one, that all may learn, and all be comforted." The rules for these informal gatherings of clergy, and the confession of faith subscribed by the members,[3] sufficiently prove their sectarian character. After the Presbyterian secession of 1573,[4] the prophesyings became more general, and spread into the dioceses of York, Chester, Durham, and Ely. Though the bishops tried to regulate them, and though they certainly had their good side in diffusing a knowledge of Holy Scripture, they became in fact, as Archbishop Parker said, mere "seminaries of Puritanism,"[5] and, as such, the queen determined to put them down, beginning with the diocese of Norwich. Archbishop Parker thereupon

[1] See, too, Green's "Short History," p. 456. "With the despotism of a Hildebrand, Cartwright combined the cruelty of a Torquemada. . . . 'I deny,' wrote Cartwright, 'that upon repentance there ought to follow any pardon of death. . . . Heretics ought to be put to death now. If this be bloody and extreme, I am content to be so counted with the Holy Ghost.'"

[2] Carlyle, "Cromwell," ii. 298, apud Curteis, p. 70, f.n.

[3] See both in Neal, i. 182. [4] *Ibid.*, 198. [5] *Ibid.*, 214.

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wrote to poor old Bishop Parkhurst, and called upon him to put down the "vain prophesyings." The bishop took offence and wrote a remonstrance to the archbishop, and at the same time wrote to the Privy Council, which, knowing nothing of the queen's part in the affair, authorized Parkhurst to "uphold the prophesyings." Parker, however, was supported by the queen, and the Privy Council had to give way. The Bishop of Norwich obeyed and suppressed the prophesyings, and died February 2, 1575.

In the year following, May 17, 1575, just before the burning of the Anabaptists, Archbishop Parker died.

What does the English Church owe to him?[1]

During the early part of Grindal's Primacy (1576–1583), the conforming and non-conforming parties headed by Cartwright and Travers continued their irregular assemblies, and agreed upon a scheme of reformation.[2] The primate, whose Puritan sympathies made him minimize the evil of these meetings, attempted to regulate them.[3] But the queen was determined to put them down. Grindal, on December 10, 1576, wrote a remonstrance, but in vain,[4] and in return the queen, by an order from the Star Chamber, suspended the archbishop. There was even a talk of depriving him, but this was not done. He never recovered the queen's favour, [and his suspension was not removed till just before his death in 1583]. The queen's letter of May 7, 1577, was obeyed with more or less reluctance by all the bishops,[5] and from that time we hear no more of the prophesyings.[6]

[1] See Hook's "Parker," pp. 586 *sqq.*; Neal, i. 224.
[2] *q.v. ibid.*, i. 226.
[3] See regulations, ap. *ibid.*, i. 231; "Documentary Annals," i. 389, 422.
[4] See the letter, Neal, i. 233.
[5] See it, ap. *ibid.*, i. 232, f.n.
[6] See Neal's lament, i. 235.

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LECTURE XVII.

THE MAR-PRELATE CONTROVERSY.

THE primacy of Archbishop Whitgift (1583–1604) witnessed a more violent attack upon the English Church. The Puritan sympathies of Archbishop Grindal and the insult in his person offered to the Church by the queen, together with the fear of the well-known disciplinarian who succeeded to Canterbury, suggested to the Puritans an open attempt to get rid of episcopacy. Presbyterians, Brownists, and Anabaptists of all shades were ready to merge their differences and join the attack. Travers and Cartwright had drawn up their "Book of Discipline,"[1] and were prepared to die for it. But Whitgift also was for discipline, and at once (1583) met the attempt by compelling subscription to three articles: (*α*) the Supremacy; (*β*) the Book of Common Prayer; (*γ*) the Articles of 1562. The Puritans based their hopes on the Parliament of 1584, and with this end in view "The Practice of Prelates" was published, the first of the series which reached its last term in the Mar-prelate libels. The queen, as usual, was robbing the Church, the courtiers favouring the Puritans, and the lay patrons of the day advancing to posts of preferment either men who were not conforming, or men who would bring open scandal on the Church. The attempt of 1584 was a failure; and, when it was renewed two years later (Parliament of 1586–7), the House refused to allow the Bill to be introduced. Neal says that "while there were any hopes of compromising matters between the Church and Puritans, the controversy was carried on with some decency; but when all hopes of accommodation were at an end, the contending

[1] [The first edition (Latin and English) appeared in 1574 at La Rochelle, and the second (English) in 1580, at Geneva. The Latin version was printed again in 1584, by the Cambridge University Press, and mention is made of an English edition of the same year. Mullinger, "Hist. of University of Cambridge," ii. 304, 631–633.]

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parties loaded each other with the heaviest reproaches."[1] But it was only the last term in a struggle, the full meaning of which was slowly realized by either party—the struggle, viz., whether the English Church was to be a Church or a sect,[2] and from the year 1570 there was an unceasing flow of Puritan tracts against the Church.[3] In answer to these, in 1587, Dr. John Bridges, Dean of Sarum, wrote his "Defence," and this was the moving cause of the Mar-prelate libels. (Mary Queen of Scots put to death, February 8, 1587; Spanish Armada, July, 1588; February 9, 1589, Dr. Bancroft, the archbishop's chaplain, preached his celebrated sermon on episcopacy as a distinct order existing *jure divino.*) The first Marprelate libels, known as the *Epistle* and the *Epitome*, appeared in 1588. But he had been anticipated both by Tyndal and Fox. Tyndal, in his "Obedience of a Christian Man," and his "Practice of Prelates," had made the same charges, hardly in a less coarse style. John Foxe, the martyrologist (who died April, 1587), and even Bishop Hooper and Bishop Bale, had expressed their disbelief in episcopacy. Martin Marprelate, whoever he was, was at least following in the lines of many previous writers within the Church itself.

The *Epistle* and *Epitome* single out for abuse not only Dr. Bridges, who is accused of bribery and plagiarism, but Archbishop Whitgift and Bishop Aylmer (Elmar). It was assumed that Cartwright had vanquished Whitgift, because the second part of the second reply (1577) had not been answered.[4] The desponding tone of the Church party is very marked in the opening sentences of Bishop Cooper's "Admonition to the People of England."[5] This answer is a sober appeal to the good feeling of the people, and a warning against the ribaldry of Mar-prelate. The bishop modestly vindicates himself[6] from

[1] i. 326.

[2] Cf. Mr. Maskell's "Mar-prelate Controversy," p. 4. [Consult also Mr. Arber's "Introductory Sketch" to the Controversy.]

[3] See list of forty in Maskell, pp. 25 *sqq.*

[4] This is answered in "Almond for a Parrat," Maskell, p. 31. The statement of the question at issue by Martin in the Epitome is given, *ibid.*, p. 34. See, too, stories from the Epistle and Epitome, *ibid.*, pp. 64, 65. Maskell (pp. 51, 52) notices the triumphant tone of the libels and the desponding tone of Hooker.

[5] *Ibid.*, pp. 75, 76.

[6] *Ibid.*, p. 83.

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the charge of ignorance, and appeals to the foreign Reformers in defence of episcopacy. All through it bears the marks of being a defence of a minimum, while even the minimum is defended on the lowest rather than the highest ground. Two explanations of this are possible. Either Bishop Cooper did not care to put Catholic doctrine on higher ground, or he felt that it would be useless in arguing against Mar-prelate. His criticism of the name Mar-prelate is interesting. "The author," he says, "calleth himselfe by a fained name, *Martin Marprelate:* a very fit name, undoubtedly. But if this outragious spirit of boldenesse be not stopped speedily, I feare he wil proue himselfe to bee, not onely *Mar-prelate*, but *Mar-prince*, *Mar-state*, *Mar-lawe*, *Mar-magistrate*, and all together, until he bring it to a Anabaptisticall equalitie and communitie."[1]

Martin Mar-prelate recognized Bishop Cooper, who had given only his initials T. C., and replied in "Hay any Worke for Cooper?"[2] a tract which, even while it professes to be disliked by Puritans, is inspired by the Puritan spirit.[3] This was followed by the "Appellation to the High Court of Parliament," a tract attributed to Penry the Brownist, who was put to death with Barrowe and Greenwood in 1593.

The treasonable character of the libels had now become plain, and they were prohibited by the council, Penry arrested, and the printing press seized while it was printing "Hay any Worke for Cooper?" The libels, however, still went on, and were met by tracts written in their own style.[4] "An Almond for a Parrat" turns the satire against the courtiers and the Puritans. The "Dialogue of the Tyrannical Dealing" follows, and then the "Theses Martinianæ," and then "The Just Censure and Reproofe," the last of the genuine Mar-prelate tracts. But Mar-prelate had been beaten at his own weapons. "Pappe with a Hatchet" and "The Countercuffe" may be taken as an instance of the new method[5] in its earlier stage. The "Month's Minde," with its comical account of the

[1] Maskell, p. 84. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 94, 95. [3] See *ibid.*, pp. 100, 101.
[4] See the account of what "Hay any Worke" contained, *ibid.*, p. 130.
[5] See *ibid.*, p. 168.

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death and burial of Martin, is the wittiest. (See how truly it represents the ideas afterwards expressed in the "Directory," 1644.) The "Plaine Percevalle," a Puritan tract which appeared afterwards, was a feeble attempt at a compromise on the part of the vanquished side.

Two things come out in the Mar-prelate controversy.

(i.) Puritanism now appears in its true colours. Its attack on episcopacy was not accidental, but essential. It was not a plea for the toleration of a non-episcopal Christianity, but an attempt to enforce the Presbyterian system upon the country as God's ordinance, and it already foreshadowed in its scurrility and revolutionary tendency the movement of the next century.

(ii.) The attack of Mar-prelatism led to a new and truer setting forth of what episcopacy is. The recovery of the English Church began not with Laud, but with Bancroft's great sermon on February 9, 1589, and Hooker's "Ecclesiastical Polity" five years later. Hitherto episcopacy had been defended on the ground that, no set form of Church government being ordered by the Bible, the Church and State have power to decide what government is best. The new creed inaugurated by Bancroft is that episcopacy is *jure divino*, not necessarily deducible from the Bible, but of the "*esse*" of the Church, and not merely its "*bene esse.*"

We owe to Archbishop Parker and Queen Elizabeth the fact that the English Church, by retaining episcopacy, continued *a Church* instead of becoming a *sect.* We owe to Bancroft and Hooker and the Laudian divines the recovery of the true meaning of the episcopate, which is also to the modern world the only justification for it, and the only view which meets the charge of *intolerance.* For if the retention of episcopacy is a matter of order merely, we have no right to defend it at the cost of a separation from non-episcopal Christians; if in the purpose of Christ it was designed to be essential to the organic life of the Church, we have no more right to abandon it than we have to abandon

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an article of the Creed.[1] The early Elizabethan Churchmen realized the necessity of episcopacy as a safeguard against disintegration (a truth abundantly borne out by history); it was reserved for Bancroft, etc., to realize its deeper spiritual necessity.

State of religion in Elizabeth's reign.

The three archbishops, Parker Grindal, and Whitgift. What do we owe to them?

LECTURE XVIII.

THE CHURCH AND THE PAPISTS.

[This lecture is specially marked by Mr. Moore as "Not written." The foolscap sheet on which these words occur enclose a half-sheet of manuscript on the popish martyrs, an underlined copy of a *Guardian* article on "Cardinal Allen," and a list of works on the Roman seminarists and their work in England. The article is by the editor of these lectures, who also sent Mr. Moore the list just referred to. It has seemed to him best to reprint these three items just as Mr. Moore had brought them together.]

CARDINAL ALLEN AND THE COUNTER-REFORMATION IN ENGLAND.

(*Guardian*, December 29, 1886.)

THE death of Mary in 1558 is commonly taken as the date when England "broke the bonds of Rome" finally and for ever. We are so accustomed to the thought that Elizabeth successfully resisted all attempts to restore the old state of things, that we are very apt to forget that success came to her only after a hard struggle lasting thirty years, or just two-thirds of her reign. Nor can we thoroughly understand this struggle if we try to isolate it and look at it as something special to England. We must rather study it in connection with the great wave of the Counter-Reformation which swept across Europe. The history of Mary Queen of Scots is in

[1] See Dr. Liddon's sermon at the consecration of Dr. King, pp. 12–16, and preface, pp. xxxviii., xxxix.

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truth but an incident in the history of the attempt to win back England to her old allegiance. *The Great Armada is at once the turning point of Elizabeth's reign*, and the high-water mark of the Counter-Reformation in Europe. Had Philip of Spain regained possession of the *English navy*, which he once held, he would have had at his mercy the Reformation in the Low Countries and in France. With the failure of the Armada perished throughout Europe any real hope of winning back the lands which had revolted from Rome. Even if we realize the real character of the great struggle in Elizabeth's reign, our sympathies lie so entirely with her that we are inclined to do but scant justice to her opponents. Their aims and schemes are, however, well worth studying, though it is not till of late years that sufficient materials have been published to enable us to weigh them and trace them out. No more important contribution has been made than the publication (by Knox) of the diaries of the English college at Douai (1878) and the letters of Cardinal Allen (1882), for Douai was the centre of the schemes, and Allen was their leader and their director. He is, in fact, the chief person on his side in the great drama: it is due to him that such well-planned attempts were made to reconquer England first by the spiritual and then by the secular arm. Dr. Bellesheim has fully realized this commanding position of the "English Cardinal," and has grouped round the story of his life the main incidents of the struggle. His book is mainly based on published materials; but he has added several "finds" of his own. It is, of course, written from the Roman point of view; but the author's knowledge of English affairs is singularly wide and very accurate, while the book itself, as giving the inner view of the counsels of the English Roman Catholics, is of absorbing interest, and is written in a clear and easy style.[1]

Allen was born in Lancashire in 1532 of a family which throughout all chances and changes clung to their mediæval belief. Sent to Oxford at what seems to us now the early age

[1] "Wilhelm Cardinal Allen (1532–1594) und die Englischen Seminare auf dem Festlande." Von Dr. Alphons Bellesheim. Mainz: 1885.

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of fifteen, he was elected Fellow of Oriel in 1550, and took his master's degree in 1554. He became Principal of St. Mary Hall, then as now closely connected with Oriel, and in 1556 was chosen proctor. According to Dr. Bellesheim he also held a canonry at York, though still a layman. His strong religious views did not, however, allow him to remain at Oxford long after the accession of Elizabeth, and early in 1561 he went to study theology at Louvain, where he acted as tutor in the family of Sir Christopher Blount. He was in England again, however, between 1562 and 1565, and we may still read his own account of his endeavours to wake up the adherents of the unreformed faith to a sense of their responsibilities, for he complains bitterly that, while attending Mass secretly, they also went to their parish churches and even received the Sacrament there; they were no better than "Crypto-Catholics." His energy and activity excited the attention of the authorities, and he left Oxford and *England for good in* 1565, publishing almost immediately a treatise in defence of purgatory and of prayers for the dead, the first of his numerous polemical works. About this time he was ordained deacon and priest at Mechlin. Full of zeal for the faith and of sorrow for those sufferings of his brethren in England, a close friendship which he formed with Dr. Vendeville, Professor of Canon Law at the University of Douai, who was possessed by the wish to found seminaries for the instruction of candidates for the priesthood, showed him how to attain his object. They made their pilgrimage to Rome together in 1567, and it was on their return in the spring of 1568 that Allen persuaded him to join in founding an institution which was to serve as a refuge for English Roman Catholics driven from their homes, and a place of education for young men, especially those who proposed to become priests. This course recommended itself to Allen for two reasons in particular. He foresaw that in the natural course of things as the expelled bishops and priests went to their rest the succession (for as a Roman Catholic he would not admit the validity of orders conferred by the Elizabethan bishops) would entirely die out, and with it the possibility of

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supplying the means of grace in the sacraments; hence it was necessary to take measures to secure a fresh supply, ever renewed, of priests willing to risk their lives for the sake of their flocks. Then, too, Allen was inspired by the idea that England as a whole must be *won back to the* faith, and would one day become obedient to the Pope as a nation. Others aimed at the conversion of individuals; Allen was ever seeking after that of the whole people, after the restoration of England to her place among the states of the Christian Republic. Filled with these hopes he never lost courage, but worked bravely and energetically to the end with wonderful perseverance. His whole life is summed up in some of his own words, contained in a letter written to his brother in 1583, which Dr. Bellesheim has chosen as one of the mottoes of his book—"*Oportet meliora tempora non expectare, sed facere.*" It was decided to fix the new college at *Douai*, which had frequent commercial relations with England, and where the university, founded in 1559 by Philip II. of Spain, as sovereign of the Netherlands, already numbered nineteen colleges. Allen opened the new institution on Michaelmas Day, 1568. It seems originally to have been a sort of "hostel" or "private hall," where his students lived and whence they attended the university lectures. Among his helpers in the early days of the college were former Fellows of New College, Exeter, and All Souls', while among the earliest pupils were two M.A.'s of St. John's, Oxford, Gregory Martin and *Edmund Campion*. The Pope also lent his support to the college, which, as Dr. Bellesheim points out, is the very first of the seminaries of which the Council of Trent ordered the erection in each diocese. In 1570 Allen took his degree of B.D. at Douai, and next year that of D.D., when, too, he became University Professor of Theology. The Pope had already, in 1568, named him *head of the English mission*, and conferred on him certain privileges of dispensing with debts owed to heretics, consecrating altars, etc. The number of pupils who took priest's orders rose from four in 1573 to twenty-four in 1577; and *in* 1574, *for the first time*, students from the college landed in England to begin the work for which they had been

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trained up. By 1579 about *one hundred priests* had been sent thither from the college. As a recognition of his success Allen was, in 1577, named Canon of Cambray by the Pope. A further sign that the college at Douai was becoming important is afforded by the new penal laws passed in England in 1571 against the introduction of papal bulls or absolutions, directed, no doubt, against the bull of Pius in 1570, by which Elizabeth was deposed from the throne, but also really against the Douai men, by whom copies of this and other documents might be widely circulated.

Dr. Bellesheim gives a very interesting sketch of the course of study pursued at Douai, from which we take a few items. Above all came the study of the Bible, many passages from which had to be learnt accurately by heart, and also expounded at the weekly meetings of the students under one of their instructors. In three years the Old Testament was read through once, the New Testament no fewer than sixteen times. Special attention was paid to scholastic theology, the text-book being the "Summa" of St. Thomas Aquinas, while pastoral theology was not neglected, and careful instruction was given in ritual and ceremonial matters. Though the Vulgate version was the one chiefly used, Allen was careful to provide for the study of Hebrew and Greek, that his students might not be taken at a disadvantage by the Reformers.

This quiet life of study and preparation for missionary work, admirably organized and superintended by the untiring Allen, was, however, soon to be broken in upon, for as the religious troubles waxed greater in the Netherlands, the college, protected and supported by Spain, was regarded as a nest of men disaffected to the new principles then being proclaimed. The triumph of the Prince of Orange in 1578 led to the expulsion of the members of the college in Holy Week, the buildings being left in the charge of servants. The exiles took refuge at *Reims*, then ruled by the Guises, the relatives of Mary Queen of Scots, and fervent supporters of the Counter-Reformation. An academy had been set up here in 1545 by the Cardinal Archbishop Louis de Guise. The townspeople were at first disinclined to receive the Douai students, for they

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were nearly as hateful to the French by reason of their English nationality as they had been to the Flemings through their Spanish connections.

In 1579 Allen went to Rome to put an end to certain disturbances which had taken place in the English college there. This college had been founded in 1578 by Gregory XIII. on the suppression of the " English school," which is said to have owed its origin to Ina of Wessex, or Offa of Mercia, in the eighth century. It was distracted by internal quarrels fomented by external influences, one of the chief grievances being that the administration of the college was intrusted to the Jesuits. For the time peace was restored by a step taken by the Pope at the suggestion of Allen—*the Jesuits were summoned in* 1580 *to take part in the* English mission. We must not suppose, however, that henceforth the English mission was exclusively or mainly carried on by Jesuits, for, according to some curious figures quoted by Dr. Bellesheim, in 1596 there still survived *forty or fifty* of the Marian priests, while about three hundred from the seminaries were at work, the number of Jesuits not exceeding SIXTEEN. It is to the seminary priests, therefore, that the maintenance of Romanism in England is due, and Dr. Bellesheim gives the names of no less than 135 *old students* of Douai who between 1577 and 1618 suffered martyrdom in their native land. *That very year* (1580) *the first Jesuits landed in England.* One of them, Edmund Campion, of St. John's, Oxford, had become a Roman Catholic in 1569 (after having received deacon's orders in the Anglican Church), and a Jesuit in 1573; his career in England as a missionary was short though brilliant, for he was martyred at Tyburn on December 1, 1582, eighteen months after his landing. The other, *Parsons*, lived till 1610, and was second only in activity and energy to his friend Allen, whose views as to converting the whole nation he fully shared; he had formerly been for some years a Fellow of Balliol. The year 1580 thus marks an important development of the English mission, which resulted in *laws* being passed in England *in* 1581, forbidding the hearing and *saying of Mass* and compelling attendance at the parish church under heavy penalties,

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while in 1585 special enactments were made against Jesuits and seminary priests. Allen himself (in 1583), however, admits that the authorities charged with the execution of these laws were easily won over by bribes, and that the imprisoned priests were allowed to say Mass and hear confessions in the towns, provided they returned to their prison at night.

Such mild administration of the penal laws, however, came to an end when the struggle between the two parties became keener, and was transferred to a larger stage. Hitherto Allen had been simply the head of a missionary college; but *in* 1582 for the first time we find him plunging into the sea of European politics. It might be supposed that he would have trained up his pupils as carefully in political as in theological matters; but we have his own assurance that politics were strictly excluded from the seminary, and the fact that his numerous letters to the rector of the English college in Rome do not contain the slightest allusion to politics shows that he could keep a secret when he chose, and that though he was the centre of all efforts, spiritual and political, to win back England, he employed *two entirely different sets of agents.* Of course, religious antagonism in this case carried with it almost necessarily political opposition as well; but the same phenomenon may be observed in the crusades of the Middle Ages. That two different sets of influences tending in the same direction may be joined together in the case of a man does not prove that they have come to him from a common source. When Allen entered politics matters were fast ripening for the final attack of the Counter-Reformation on England. Philip of Spain was slowly making up his mind to risk all on a single cast of the die, and the position of Mary Queen of Scots was becoming critical. After the failure of the intrigues (1582–3) of the Guises to bring about a rising in Scotland, they planned *the assassination of Elizabeth.* Allen was certainly concerned in the former; and Dr. Bellesheim, while admitting that the murder plot cannot be defended, allows that it is most probable that he *in some degree or other had cognizance* of it. No doubt such a scheme was less startling

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and horrible then than it would appear now; but while only this can explain why excessive zeal hurried good and pious men to such extreme measures, it cannot palliate their conduct in the slightest degree. The schemes for an attack on England were also gradually elaborated. Allen and Parsons pointed out to the Pope the dangers of delay, but Philip held back, unable to come to a final decision and very unwilling to part with his gold. Opinions were divided as to the spot where the landing should be effected. Allen and the Spanish envoy in Paris were strongly in favour of England; the Guises, on the other hand, inclined towards the selection of Scotland. Matters dragged on thus, and time was wasted. In 1584 the face of things altered greatly, for by the death of the Duke of Anjou the Huguenot Henry of Navarre, of the Bourbon line, became the heir to the throne of Henry III. of France. The probable accession of a heretic was too much for the Ultramontane party, and the attention of the Guises was now wholly centred on home affairs in France, their energy absorbed in setting up as a claimant to the Crown the Cardinal of Bourbon, a younger brother of Henry of Navarre's father. The anti-Elizabethan party could thus rely only on the King of Spain, and all their efforts were devoted to exercising pressure upon him. But the *death of Gregory XIII.*, in 1585, was a great blow to them, for his successor, *Sixtus V.*, maintained a reserved and cautious policy as regards Philip, fearing much to do anything to help on his ideal of a world-monarchy, despite his character as the most powerful champion of the faith. The growing importance of Allen's position is shown by Gregory's intention (1583) of making him Prince-Bishop of Durham, so as to be a rallying point for the adherents of the old faith, who were specially numerous and powerful in north England; and shortly before Gregory's death we find that the Spanish Court was beginning to press for his nomination to the cardinalate. Thus Allen's zeal for the faith drew him closer and closer to Spain; the old suspicion of the people of Douai received its justification. Hence we are not surprised to learn that he was summoned to Rome at the end of 1585 to use all his influence with Sixtus V. in

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order that the Pope might be induced to join Spain in the long-planned attack on England and to grant pecuniary aid; the English throne, too, was to be secured for a member of the Spanish royal family, for all hopes of converting James of Scotland (the son of Mary Queen of Scots) had now been finally given up. Father Parsons and the Spanish envoy in Rome stood behind Allen and directed the course of the negotiations.

The *execution of Mary* on February 8, 1587, had among other effects that of stirring up the plotters to come to terms. On August 7, 1587, as a mark of favour and respect for Philip, Allen was named cardinal priest, the idea being that he was to accompany the expedition as legate, and that the English Romanists would eagerly gather round one who had done so much for the faith. Allen was deeply grateful to Philip for the pertinacity with which he had sought for him a post which was personally distasteful to him, and promised to fill the English sees with men who should be approved by the King of Spain or his representative.

As we all know, the Great Armada, the fruit of so much scheming and preparation, failed miserably in July, 1588. It is interesting to note that Parsons regarded this breakdown as a judgment of God for the distrustful and suspicious manner in which Philip treated the English Romanists, which led them to believe that he wished to rule over England by right of conquest and strong in his own power.

Thus Allen's political schemes had utterly broken down, and the murder of the Guises in December, 1588, further ruined the cause of the Counter-Reformation, for the return blow given in the form of the assassination of Henry III. (August, 1589) simply cleared the way for the accession of the Huguenot Henry of Navarre. Allen, indeed, never despaired of winning back England even when all hope of obtaining material aid from the King of Spain had passed away. Named by Philip in November, 1589, to the vacant archbishopric of Mechlin, he was never consecrated, for the financial embarrassments of the see and the slackness of Philip to discharge them prevented any steps being taken to

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put him in possession of the post. His last years were spent at Rome as the trusted adviser of the Popes, who rapidly succeeded one another. He was at one time involved in a quarrel with the Jesuits arising out of the affairs of the English college at Rome, and in 1593, true to his Spanish leanings, strenuously opposed the sanctioning of the reception of Henry IV. into the Church by the Pope. In this last point he was over-ridden, and Dr. Bellesheim considers that he was mistaken in his resistance. The same year, 1593, saw too the return of the seminary from Douai to Reims, a change which had become necessary after the fall of the Guises in 1588, though many things had delayed its execution.

Allen died at Rome on October 16, 1594, at the age of only sixty-two. His busy life had prematurely worn him out. We cannot sympathize with his aims and objects, but we can appreciate and understand the wonderful doggedness and courage, the marvellous self-sacrifice and single-mindedness, with which he strove to realize his ideal. His long absence from England undoubtedly caused him to form too exaggerated an idea of the strength of the Roman Catholics there, for to the last he held that the great religious change at home was but a shadow which would pass away at the death of Elizabeth. In these days, when energetic action is often paralyzed by doubts of success, by the apparent disproportion of means to ends, it cannot fail to do us good to study the life of one who, without material resources of his own, did all that man could do to restore a vanished state of things, and who summed up in himself the great attempt of the Counter-Reformation to win back England, the very climax of the whole movement in Europe.

Allen's great monument is, of course, his college at Douai. The town passed to France in 1668, when the Spanish subsidies came to an end. The college, however, survived till 1793, when its inmates were expelled as Englishmen, and therefore dangerous to the Revolutionary Government. They were distributed between Old Hall Green (now St. Edmund's College) and Ushaw and Oscott, all of which may claim some share in the glories of a college which in the space of 225

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years could boast of 160 martyrs and confessors, as well as 33 archbishops and bishops. Parsons founded seminaries in Spain at Valladolid, Madrid, and Seville, of which the former still exists, as does also that at Lisbon. It is to him also that is due the Jesuit College of St. Omer, founded in 1593 under the protection of Philip, which was transferred to Bruges in 1762 and to Liège in 1773, and to Stonyhurst in 1794, where it still exists. Dr. Bellesheim gives, besides, a very curious list of all the English religious houses founded on the Continent, which number no fewer than 37—belonging to Jesuits (4), Benedictines (12), Carthusians (1), Dominicans (3), Franciscans (7), Carmelites (4), Austin nuns (4), Brigittines (1), and the house of "Marie Ward" (1).

Any account of Allen and Douai would be incomplete without some words on the English version of the Bible carried out by the college. The New Testament was published at Reims in 1582, but the Old Testament not till 1610. The original idea was Allen's, and he had personally a large share in the work of translation, which was mainly done by Gregory Martin, formerly of St. John's, Oxford, assisted by Richard Bristowe, formerly Fellow of Exeter, and others. Thus the translation may be regarded as the work of a band of Oxford scholars exiled for their faith; and we are therefore not surprised to find that though the Vulgate version was taken as the basis, the Greek and Hebrew originals were constantly consulted. The notes were intended to correct common Protestant misinterpretations, and from their controversial character excited much indignation in England. As to the merits of the translation it may be said that while the Authorized Version of 1611 is the finer as a piece of English literature, the Reims version is in many points more accurate, particularly as regards the use of the Greek article, which alone would show that its authors did not limit themselves to the Latin text of the Vulgate. It is well known that the Reims version exercised great influence on the Authorized Version of 1611. Dr. Westcott's or Dr. Moulton's works will supply the detailed proofs of this; here it may suffice to quote the striking testimony given by the re-

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visers of 1881 in their Preface to the Revised New Testament:—"The Translators [of 1611] made much use of the Genevan version. They do not, however, appear to have frequently returned to the renderings of the other Versions named in the rule, when those Versions differed from the Bishops' Bible. On the other hand, their work shews evident traces of the influence of a Version not specified in the rules, the Rhemish, made from the Latin Vulgate, but by scholars conversant with the Greek Original." A further proof of the estimation in which Allen's scholarship was held is the fact that for two years (1590–1) he was a member of the committee appointed by Gregory XIV. to revise the Latin text of the Vulgate, as contained in the official edition of 1590, which itself was a mutilated reproduction of the work of an earlier committee named by Sixtus V. So, too, we find that he was a member of the committee charged by Gregory XIII. with bringing out a critical edition of the LXX. Version, and worked on it from the start in 1579 to the publication of the book in 1587.

All historical students are now lamenting the death, at a ripe old age, of Leopold von Ranke, who, in his "History of the Popes in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries," first traced with a master's hand the outlines of the great reaction commonly known as the Counter-Reformation. Those outlines are being little by little filled up and expanded by workers in different lands. The future historian of the English Counter-Reformation will find that one man meets him at every turn; it is William Allen, who holds in his hands the threads of all the intrigues and plots and schemes for the restoration of England to the Papacy. Scholar, theologian, missionary, and politician—his whole life was devoted to the service of God as he understood it, and even his adversaries must admit the force of his biographer's boast that he was "*homo natus ad Angliæ salutem*," though they rejoice that it was not given him to succeed.

W. A. B. C.

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1. *Challoner*, Richard. "Memoirs of Missionary Priests." Derby: 1843. 2 vols.

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2. *Dodd*, Charles. "The Church History of England, from 1500 to 1688." 3 vols. Brussels: 1737. Or Tierney's edition. London: 1839. 5 vols.

3. "*Records* of the English Catholics under the Penal Laws." Edited by T. F. *Knox*. Vol. I., "Diaries of the English College at Douai." London: 1878. Vol. II., "Letter Books of Cardinal Allen." 1882.

4. "Records of the English Province of the Society of Jesus." Vol. VI., "Diary of the English College at Rome from 1579 to 1773." Edited by H. *Foley*. London: 1880.

5. *Law*, T. G. "A Calendar of the English Martyrs of the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries." London: 1876.

6. *Simpson*, R. "Edmund Campion." London: 1867.

With regard to the persecutions of the papists, we have to remember that the opposition was *political*, not *theological*. After the bull of excommunication (1570), every devout Papist was bound to believe that Elizabeth was deposed, and that no obedience was due to her. The refusal of the Act of Supremacy by the Papists of this period was a totally different thing from the conscientious scruples of those who, like Bishop Fisher and Sir Thomas More, refused the Act of Supreme Head in Henry's reign. To call the Papists "martyrs" is to confuse the issue, since it is clear they were put to death not for their religious opinions as such, but for holding views (as no doubt they were in conscience bound to do) dangerous to the safety of the queen. There is no palliating the execution of Mary Queen of Scots, by which, as Mr. Keble says,[1] the chief hope of the Romanist party was got rid of at the cost of a national crime. But other Papists in England would probably have been left unmolested if they would have repudiated all plans against the throne. When the policy of Rome had declared itself in the Spanish Armada, and specially trained seminarists were despatched into England, it was little wonder that they were treated as traitors.[2]

[1] Preface to Hooker, i. p. lxiv.

[2] For the case of the Roman "martyrs," see Sanders, iv. ch. 9, etc.; Curteis, pp. 197, 198, f.n.; Douai and the seminarists, Sanders, iv. ch. 8; List of seminaries, 1569–1624, ap. Neal, i. 221.

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That they were treated as traitors and not as heretics is proved by the fact that every one of them was *hanged* and not *burned.*[1]

From Theodore to Cranmer.

[The following notes were found among Mr. Moore's papers relating to his Reformation lectures, and are printed here, as there seems to be no place marked out for them in the general scheme.]

The Church of England a part of the Church Catholic, under its primate, recognizing the primacy of Rome, accorded to it by Œcumenical Councils, recognized by the Catholic Church throughout the world.

Its hierarchy and organization; its independence of Rome. Free adoption of Roman use no recognition of Roman supremacy.

Between Theodore and Cranmer what had happened?

(i.) Growth of Roman claims.

(ii.) Growth of jealousy between Church and State.

Church and State united till the Conquest—

(α) Effects of Conquest.

The struggle tended to make the Church appeal from the State to Rome. So gradually Rome got power, and increased hatred of Church by State. Pope *v.* king—the Church generally the victim.

(β) The growth of monastic system.

(α) Strengthened the papal influence; (β) alienated the laity.

By Henry I.'s reign a papal legate established—*legatus a latere.* Archbishop of Canterbury *legatus natus*, 1126, and *Papa alterius orbis*, 1098.

The "*Metropolitanus*" became "*apostolicæ sedis legatus.*"

1164. Constitutions of Clarendon.

John and Innocent III. The "census" of 1000 marks granted by John Wicliffe.

Increase of papal power meant what?

(i.) Extortions, annates, canons, Peter pence, fees, etc.

(ii.) Appeals, always illegal, but connived at.

(iii.) Visitation.

(iv.) Provisions, always opposed.

Anti-papal Acts—

Provisors, 25 Edw. III. st. 4, c. 22; 13 Rich. II. st. 2, c. 2; 16 Rich. II. c. 5.

Præmunire, 27 Edw. III. c. 1; 7 Rich. II. c. 14; 16 Rich. II. c. 5; 22 Hen. VIII. c. 15.

What happened at the Reformation? Rejection of papal claims, not Roman primacy.

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[1] Curteis, *loc. cit.* See, too, Lord Burleigh's tract referred to, ap. "Documentary Annals," i. 455, f.n.

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Two principles underlay divorce case:—

(i.) Can Pope override law of God?

(ii.) Is not a provincial synod without appeal?

Henry re-enacted and *enforced* the anti-papal Acts which all the great Churchmen had maintained.

There was no act of *schism*, but the final refusal to recognize claims which Popes like Gregory the Great had repudiated. The great Acts of 1534. England not excommunicated for four years. Rifling of Becket's tomb.

Church and State were agreed in this repudiation of claims, though many feared the ominous title, "Head of the Church."

The Church did, as a matter of fact, *lose* as well as *gain* at the Reformation. For the Tudors, professing to restore the ancient power of the Crown, really made *new* claims, and used their power for spoliation of Church property.

Still the Church were willing to bear, and did bear, much, till in Edward VI.'s reign there was a danger of heretical doctrines, which would have separated the English Church from the Church Catholic.

Hence the readiness of the English Church to return even to the bondage of Rome rather than abandon her Catholicity.

Five years of Romanism under Mary, and the persecution of her Spanish husband, made the restoration of English independence possible.

English Church had now learned that she must vindicate herself against two foes:—

Her constitutional freedom as a National Church against Pope and king.

Her true and Catholic heritage against Lutherans, Zwinglians, and a tribe of fanatics.

The final rejection of the Papacy in 1559 secured her freedom from the Pope.

The final rejection of heretical views dates from the reign of Elizabeth.

Doctrinal Changes at the Reformation.

How did the changes in doctrine affect the Catholicity of the English Church?

Up to end of *Henry VIII.'s* reign, no reform in doctrine.

Edward VI., services in English.

Mass becomes communion in both kinds.

Prayer-book of 1549, wherein we find the doctrine of the priesthood and of the Sacraments preserved—nothing Catholic lost.

Then the Puritans in power. They wish—

to make the Church a Protestant sect,

to break with antiquity,

to formulate a confession of faith,

to destroy the canon law,

and invent a discipline.

Hence, in the Prayer-book of 1552, we find that the Real Presence is not denied, but ignored, while the priesthood is degraded to a ministry.

Elizabeth. The 1559 Prayer-book restores doctrine of Real Presence and vestments.

Vestiarian controversy. Shall we wear the surplice?

The Nonconformists of 1566.

Puritanism shows its true colours. T. C[artwright] and Hooker.

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The principles between Church and Puritan, and Church and Pope—
Papists—Church-rid—Pope and Pope only.
Puritans—Bible and Bible only.
Church of England—Bible in the light of Apostolic usage.

The *via media*—Papists called them Protestants, Puritans called them papists.
Something to be learned from Scotch Reformation. No middle party—*Rome* or *Geneva*.

Is the Church of England guilty of schism? If rejection of Rome is schism, *yes*; but it cannot be. Cf. Africa and Rome.

But England rebelled against the Bishop of Rome.
Rejection of new claims not rebellion—the primacy formally admitted,
the Patriarchate never in question,
the Supremacy rejected.

Act of Separation—altar *v.* altar—the work of Rome.

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COURSE IV.

THE REFORMATION ON THE CONTINENT.

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CHRONOLOGY OF THE REFORMATION ON THE CONTINENT (1517–1555).

Period I., 1517–1530.

1517.
Oct. 31.—Luther nails up his ninety-five Theses at Wittenberg.
1518.
Aug. 7.—Luther receives the papal citation to appear in Rome within sixty days.
Oct. 12–14.—Luther appears before Cajetan at Augsburg.
Oct. 16.—Luther appeals to the Pope.
Oct. 28.—Luther leaves Augsburg.
Nov. 28.—Luther appeals to a General Council.
Dec. 13.—Leo X.'s bull about indulgences published (it was dated Nov. 9).
1519.
About Jan. 6.—Luther and Miltitz meet.
Jan. 12.—Death of the Emperor Maximilian.
March 3.—Luther's letter to the Pope recognizing his supremacy.
June 27–July 13.—Disputation at Leipsic between Luther and Eck.
June 28.—Election of Charles of Spain as Emperor.
Sept.—Luther publishes his "Commentary on the Galatians."
1520.
June 15.—Papal bull issued condemning forty-one propositions in Luther's works.
End of June.—Luther publishes his "Address to the Christian Nobility of the German Nation."
Oct.—Luther publishes his "Babylonish Captivity of the Church."
About Oct. 15.—Luther sends a letter to the Pope together with his book on the "Liberty of a Christian Man."
Nov. 17.—Luther appeals from the Pope to a General Council.
Dec. 10.—Luther burns the papal bull of June 15.
1521.
Jan. 3.—Luther excommunicated by the Pope.
April 17–26.—Luther appears before the Diet at Worms.
May 5.—Luther carried off to the Wartburg.
May 8.—Luther put under the ban of the Empire (decree antedated from the 26th).—*Edict of Worms.*
Dec. 1.—Death of Leo X.
1522.
Jan. 9.—Election of Adrian VI.
March 3.—Luther returns from the Wartburg to Wittenberg.
Sept. 21.—Luther publishes his German translation of the New Testament.
Dec. 22.—Diet of Nuremberg.

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1523.
March 6.—The Recess. A demand for a Council, and presentation of the CENTUM GRAVAMINA.
Sept. 14.—Death of Adrian VI.
Nov. 19.—Election of Clement VII.
1524.
Jan. 14.—Diet of Nuremberg.
April 18.—The Diet decrees that the Edict of Worms is to be carried out *as far as possible*, and that a national assembly is to meet at Spires on November 11 to discuss the Gravamina.
June 24–July 8.—Campeggio's reform conference at Ratisbon and league.
July 15, and again on Sept. 30.—Charles forbids the meeting at Spires.
Aug.—Outbreak of the Peasants' War.
Aug. 21.—Luther and Carlstadt dispute at Jena.
1525.
Feb. 24.—Battle of Pavia and defeat of Francis.
May 5.—Death of the Elector Frederick of Saxony.
May 15.—Battle of Frankenhausen and defeat of the peasants.
June 13.—Luther's marriage with Catherine Bora.
1526.
Jan. 14.—Treaty of Madrid.
May 22.—Holy League against Charles.
June 25.—Diet of Spires.
Aug.—The Diet orders toleration till the meeting of the Council.
1527.
May 6.—Sack of Rome by the Constable de Bourbon's army, and imprisonment of the Pope.
Nov. 26.—The Pope makes terms with Charles.
1529.
March 15–May 6.—Second Diet of Spires, which attempts to limit the toleration granted in 1526.
April 19.—Protest made by the Lutheran princes and cities, whence the name "*Protestants*."
June 29.—Treaty of Barcelona.
Aug. 5.—Peace of Cambray.
Oct. 2–4.—Conference between Luther and Zwingle at Marburg.
1530.
Feb. 24.—Charles crowned Emperor at Bologna.
June 20.—*Diet of Augsburg.*
June 25.—*Confession of Augsburg* read before the Diet. This is followed by the Tetrapolitan Confession, and by the presentation of Zwingli's *Ratio Fidei* to the Emperor.
Aug. 3.—Refutation of the Augsburg Confession read.
Sept. 22.—Recess of the Diet. No toleration, but a Council promised after April 15 next.
Charles presses for a Council.
Dec. 1.—The Pope announces to all the Christian princes his intention of holding a Council.
Dec. 22–31.—Beginnings of the Schmalkaldic League.

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Period II., 1531–1547.

1531.
Jan. 5.—Election of Ferdinand as King of the Romans.
March 29.—The Schmalkaldic League finally concluded.
Oct. 11.—Death of Zwingle at the battle of Kappel.

1532.
April 17.—Diet at Ratisbon.
July 23.—Peace of Nuremberg, under fear of the Turks.
Aug. 2.—Recess confirming the peace, so that both parties join in beating back the Turks.
Aug. 15.—Death of the Elector John of Saxony.

1533.
Feb.—The Pope and the Emperor meet at Bologna.
Feb. 20.—Council negotiations.
Feb. 24.—League for the protection of Italy.
May 23.—Cranmer pronounces the divorce between Henry VIII. and Katharine of Aragon.
July 11.—The Pope annuls Henry's marriage with Anne Boleyn.
Oct. 11.—The Pope and Francis meet at Marseilles.

1534.
Jan.–March. The great anti-papal statutes passed in England.
March 23.—The Pope decides in favour of the validity of the marriage of Henry VIII. and Katharine of Aragon.
Aug. 15.—Origin of the Jesuits at Montmartre.
Sept. 25.—Death of Clement VII.
Oct. 13.—Election of Paul III.

1535.
May 20.—Paul III. sends a cardinal's hat to Bishop Fisher, who is executed June 22.
Dec. 21.—A Council in Italy rejected by the Protestants at Schmalkald.

1536.
Feb.—FIRST HELVETIC CONFESSION (Second of Basle) and Concord of Wittenberg.
June 2.—The Council summoned to meet at Mantua on May 23, 1537.
July 25.—Charles invades France.

1537.
Feb. 15.—ARTICLES OF SCHMALKALD drawn up in order to be presented to the Council.

1537.
April 20.—The Council postponed till November, owing to difficulties with the Duke of Mantua.
Oct. 8.—The Council summoned to meet at Vicenza on May 1, 1538.

1538.
No one comes to the Council, so it is postponed on April 25.
June 18.—Truce for ten years made between Charles and Francis at Nice.
June 28.—The Council summoned to meet at Vicenza on Easter Day, 1539.
Aug. 19.—Desecration of the shrine of St. Thomas at Canterbury.
Dec. 17.—Excommunication of Henry VIII. and England.

1539.
Feb.—Diet at Frankfort continues the Peace of Nuremberg for fifteen months.
June 13.—The Council postponed indefinitely.
June 16.—The law of the Six Articles passed in England.

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1540.
March 4.—Philip of Hesse commits bigamy.
Summer.—Conference at Hagenau.
Sept. 27.—The order of the Jesuits definitely constituted by the Pope (limited to sixty members).
Confessio Variata appeared this year.
Nov., 1540.-Jan., 1541.—Conference at Worms.
1541.
April 5-May 2.—Diet at Ratisbon.
May 10.—*Ratisbon Interim* (Recess issued on June 29).
Aug.—The Pope and the Emperor meet at Lucca.
1542.
Feb.-March.—Diet of Spires. Trent accepted as the meeting-place for the Council.
May 22.—The Council summoned to meet at Trent on November 1.
Nov. 22, 1542-July, 1543.—The papal legates wait at Trent.
1543.
Jan. 8.—The Emperor's envoys reach Trent.
March 15.—Limitation of the number of Jesuits removed by papal bull.
July 6.—The Council prorogued.
1544.
Feb.—Charles in league with the Protestants at the Diet of Spires—hence Edicts of Worms and Augsburg repealed.
Sept. 18—Peace of Crêpy between Charles and Francis.
Nov. 19.—Council summoned to meet on March 15, 1545.
1545.
March 24.—Diet of Worms.
April 20.—The Council to be opened on May 3.
Aug.—Recess published. Charles deserts the Protestants, and enforces obedience to the Council, but promises a conference.
Dec. 4.—The Council to be opened on Dec. 13.
Dec. 13.—Opening of the Council.
1546.
Jan. 7 and Feb. 4.—First sessions of the Council.
Jan. 27.—Conference at Ratisbon, but no result.
Feb. 18.—Death of Luther.
June.—Diet at Ratisbon.
July 20.—The leaders of the Schmalkaldic League outlawed by Charles.
1547.
Jan. 28.—Death of Henry VIII.
March 11.—The Council transferred to Bologna.
March 31.—Death of Francis I.
April 24.—Battle of Mühlberg, and defeat of the Protestants.

Period III., 1547-1555.

1547.
July.—"Armed" Diet of Augsburg, where Charles urges submission to t e Council.
Negotiations about the return of the Council to Trent.

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1548.
May 15.—INTERIM OF AUGSBURG : later enforced, Brenz and four hundred clergy deprived.
Sept. 14.—Council suspended *sine die.*
Dec. 22.—*Interim of Leipsic* accepted (Adiaphoristic controversy).
1549.
Disputes about Parma and Placentia.
Nov. 10.—Death of Paul III.
1550.
Feb. 8.—Election of Julius III.
June 25.—Diet accepts the Council and enforces the Augsburg Interim.
Oct.—Maurice besieges Magdeburg.
Nov. 14.—The Council summoned for May 1, 1551.
1551.
Jan. 25.—Meeting of the Diet.
Feb. 13.—Recess of the Diet in favour of the Council.
Oct. 11 and Nov. 25.—Thirteenth and fourteenth sessions of the Council.
Nov. 3.—Fall of Magdeburg.
Maurice prepares for war against Charles.
In this year St. Philip Neri founds the Oratorians.
1552.
Jan. 24.—The *Confessio Wirtembergensis* and *Confessio Saxonica* received by the legates at Trent.
Jan. 25.—Fifteenth session of the Council.
March.—War breaks out between Charles and Maurice.
April 28.—The Council suspended for two years.
Aug. 2.—*Treaty of Passau.*
1553.
July 9.—Battle of Sievershausen.
July 12.—Death of Maurice.
1554.
March 3.—Death of John Frederick I., ex-Elector of Saxony.
July 25.—Marriage of Philip of Spain and Mary of England.
Nov. 30.—Pope absolves the English Parliament.
1555.
Feb. 5.—Diet at Augsburg.
March 25.—Death of Julius III.
April 9–30.—Reign of Marcellus II.
May 23.—Election of Paul IV. (Caraffa).
Sept. 25, 26.—PEACE OF AUGSBURG.
Dec. 15.—The Pope and France allied against Charles, who resigns Spain, Jan. 16, Austria, Sept. 7, 1556, and the Empire, Feb. 24, 1558; and dies, Sept. 21, 1558.

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BOOKS RELATING TO THE REFORMATION ON THE CONTINENT.

No books without a bias—Roman Catholic, Lutheran, Calvinist, Anglican, Unitarian, Positivist.

Probably the least biassed are Ranke's "Popes" (translated in Bohn's Series), which takes much knowledge for granted; and his "Reformation in Germany" (translated as far as 1535 by Mrs. Austin, 1845-7), of which the beginning is valuable.

Historians of the Council of Trent.

Sarpi (partly translated by Sir N. Brent, 1676), and Pallavicino (1656). [As to their respective merits, see Ranke's "Popes," iii., sect. 2.]

The Acts of the Council, as taken down by its two secretaries, have been published—Paleotto's set of minutes by Mendham in 1842; [Massarelli's as well, by Theiner in 1874].

Modern writers on the Council are Mendham's "Memoirs" (1834), and Father Waterworth's translation of the canons and decrees, with an introduction [1848, reprinted very recently].

[Dr. Littledale's "Short History," published by the S.P.C.K. in 1888, is concise and accurate. Many cheap editions of the canons and decrees themselves, *e.g.* in 32mo, by Roger at Paris.]

Life of Luther.

Köstlin (very good), and Beard (up to 1521 only). See Article in Herzog's "Real Encyclopädie."

P. Balan, "Monumenta Reformationis Lutheranæ, 1521-5" (1883-4).

Wace and Buchheim's "Primary Works of Luther" (1883).

Doctrinal.

Möhler's "Symbolism" (translated 1843) gives the contrast between Roman, Calvinist, and Lutheran doctrines. Fair on the whole.

"Sylloge Confessionum" (1827) has the Augsburg and Swiss Confessions.

Niemeyer's "Collectio Confessionum" (1840) is mainly Swiss.

The Counter-Reformation.

Ranke's "Popes," with Macaulay's criticism on the book (see his "Essays").

Ward's "Counter-Reformation" in "Epochs of Church History" (1889).

Philippson's "La Contre-Révolution Religieuse au 16ème Siècle" (1884). [Careful and good—the best text-book on the subject.]

General Histories of the Reformation.

Hardwick's "History" (clear division between Swiss and Saxon Reformers).

Häusser's "Period of the Reformation" (translation).

Ranke's "Reformation in Germany."

Beard's "Hibbert Lectures" for 1883 (admirable).

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Hagenbach's "History of the Reformation" (translated in Clark's Series). Writes from the Swiss point of view.

D'Aubigné's "History." Interesting, but antiquated.

Maps and Atlases.

Spruner's "Hand Atlas" [3rd edition, 1880]. Single maps.

Kiepert and Wolff's "Historischer Schul Atlas," 2nd edition, 1882 (Sheet 27).

Carl Wolff's "Historischer Atlas," larger scale than Kiepert and Wolff (Sheets X*a* and X*b*).

LECTURE I.

THE CHARACTERISTIC DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE ENGLISH AND THE CONTINENTAL REFORMATION.

IN attempting to sketch the outline of the Reformation on the Continent it will be necessary to divide the history into periods, which must necessarily be arbitrary, and will not suit the history of the Reformation in England, though, speaking generally, they will suit the various nations of the Continent.

Before, however, attempting even this, it will be necessary to give some sketch of the state of religious and non-religious feeling on the Continent before the publication of Luther's Theses, and to notice the causes which were co-operating with him, or at all events made his action possible. (These causes fall under two heads, which, as regards the Church, we may speak of as external and internal, distinguishing the former more definitely as *moral*, *literary*, and *political*.)

The Reformation of Luther and the action of Henry VIII. in England were both the result of causes which had been at work for centuries before. No philosophical view of history can be content with looking at a great movement as the work of one man's will. The materials were at least prepared; the spark that should fire them was wanting. But though this is true of both the English and the Continental Reformation, it is important to notice the different forms which each took. In England and the Continent alike there was a strong desire for reformation of abuses, and on the Continent we shall find

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this again and again attempted, both by Œcumenical Councils and by saints of the Roman Communion. England, while always sympathizing with such internal reformation, and always on the side of the reforming party within the Church, had another matter still more at heart, viz. the rejection of the encroachments of Rome on her national freedom. *Schism* was not included in either scheme. Luther, till he found reformation impossible, never dreamt of it; and Henry, even after he had rejected the papal allegiance, still believed himself to be, and wished to remain, in the unity of the Roman Church. Luther and Henry were excommunicated, but on different grounds—Luther for heresy and refusal to submit to his ecclesiastical superior, the Pope; Henry for refusing to acknowledge a claim to jurisdiction which previous Popes had allowed could not be made. This at once marks off the English from the Continental Reformation. (i.) Luther could claim for his action the absolute necessity of a reformation, which was impossible without renouncing the Pope. Henry could and did claim that he was not deviating by jot or tittle from Catholic belief; but, in rejecting papal claims, he was acting on constitutional precedents which previous Popes had recognized. This, while distinguishing the English from the Continental Reformation, also explains the course subsequently taken by each. (ii.) Luther and his followers began with a protest against *practical* abuses, were led on from that to discover errors in *doctrine*, and finally were reluctantly driven to renounce the papal allegiance. The English Church began at the other end, first renouncing the Pope's jurisdiction, and then gradually, and in a conservative and Catholic spirit, proceeding to the removal of Romish errors, a reconstruction of doctrine. (iii.) The result was obvious. (*a*) *Continuity*. England had its own Church machinery, its own archbishop and Convocation to fall back upon. Luther had to create a Church system *de novo*, and that while the Lutheran doctrine was in a state of flux. England was exposed to attacks on the part of the king and the State and Erastian bishops, which grievously limited its ancient freedom, but doctrinal dangers came from abroad, and at the end of Edward

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VI.'s reign threatened to destroy its hold on Catholic truth. Episcopacy preserved. Luther was exposed to all the attacks of many-headed heresy, against which he had nothing to oppose but his own strong will and the Bible as he understood it. But others had an equal right to their view; and Luther was followed by Zwingli, and Zwingli by Calvin, while Anabaptists and the Family of Love and a host of fanatics served as a *reductio ad absurdum* of his teaching. (β) We have only to contrast the present state of Germany with that of England to form an estimate of the comparative truth of these different views of Reformation. In Germany, disintegration, deadness, and formalism, even amongst those who profess to be devout, whether Lutherans or Reformed; in England, in spite of the oppression of the State, which denies to the Church the freedom secured to it by Magna Charta, a living Church reasserting now against the State its ancient independence, as once it reasserted its independence of "any foreign person whatsoever."

Just as, then, in speaking of the English Reformation, we are bound to begin by showing that the rejection of the Roman claims was only the reasserting of the constitutional rights of the National Church which had before been held consistent with the primacy of the Roman see; so, in speaking of the Continental Reformation, we must try and show that Luther's reforms, at least as at first proposed, were only the assertion of the necessity of that which, without any thought of schism, had been the desire of all the greatest saints of the Roman Communion.

That this is so we may infer from the fact that a real reformation within the Church of Rome was the almost immediate result of the Reformation movement. The Council of Trent was a reforming Council, at least as regards most of the practical abuses against which Luther protested. It is, therefore, unfair without warning to contrast the Roman Church, as reformed by the Council of Trent and regenerated by the Jesuits (themselves the children of the Reformation), with the formularies of Germany and Switzerland. The wave of reform, which swept away so many of the ancient land-

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marks in those countries, purified where it did not destroy (*e.g.* in England); and even where the purification was but slight, the marks of the wave were left. One thing will come out clearly as we go on, a truth which was very gradually realized and never openly admitted, except by a few within the Roman Church, namely, that any complete reform was impossible while the Papacy continued as it was. This was why the Reformation of the sixteenth century became of necessity *a revolution against the papal claims.*

Our first work, then, will be to see what the papal claims were which made reforms impossible, and how they had come, whether under protest or not, to be admitted by the nations of Europe. This subject will be best considered under the two divisions: 1st. The claim to supremacy over the temporal power (Lecture II.); 2nd. The claim to supremacy over the ecclesiastical power, represented by the Œcumenical Council (Lecture III.).

We may then proceed to review the general state of Europe at the opening of the sixteenth century, noticing any special internal or external causes which would favour or retard a revolt against the Papacy (Lectures IV. and V.), and then proceed to the history itself.

The actual history I propose to divide into three periods, the last of which will carry us to the end of the Council of Trent.

I. From the publication of the Theses to the Diet of Augsburg, 1517–1530.

II. From the formation of the Schmalkaldic League to the end of the Schmalkaldic War, 1531–1547.

III. The period of the Council of Trent, 1547–1563.

To which may be added the period of the Counter-Reformation, 1563–1600.

[The above is the form in which the introductory lecture exists in Mr. Moore's manuscript, written apparently about 1882. The following notes from the note-books of pupils represent the lecture as actually delivered in 1888 and 1889.]

The Reformation is a name which we give to that moral and ecclesiastical movement which was the counterpart of the Renaissance. Both were in different ways a revolt from

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mediævalism, the one from its literary and artistic side, the latter from its religious side. In both cases there is a return to an earlier state of things—the Renaissance to classical, the Reformation to Christian antiquity. But while the Reformation implied a revolt from the mediæval conception of the Church, it took very different shapes, which were mainly determined by local conditions and the relations in which different countries stood towards the Papacy, which was bound up with the mediæval idea of the Church. It was the symbol of that view of unity which had grown up since Hildebrand; and, whether in England or on the Continent, the Reformation implied the more or less complete renouncing of that view. Both in England and on the Continent there had been many attempts at reform before the Reformation, and when it began, neither in England nor on the Continent was schism contemplated. Luther himself did not break with the Papacy till he found a reformation impossible without it; and Henry VIII., after openly rejecting the papal claims, still claimed to be in the unity of the Roman Church. But the Continental and the English Reformations are widely distinguished both in their origin (or first impulse), their progress, and their result.

(1.) *Origin.* The occasion which brought about the Reformation in Germany was a vigorous *moral protest* against the abuses of the sale of indulgences. Luther at first did not protest against indulgences, but the abuse of the sale of indulgences, and in his celebrated Theses he distinctly professes belief in indulgences. (Roman Catholics say that his pride was hurt because the sale was entrusted to the Dominicans, and not to his own order, the Augustinian Friars.) He was gradually led on to see that these abuses were bound up with the whole theory of indulgences, and so went farther, one step farther. When he saw that the theory of indulgences was bound up with papal claims, he was compelled to renounce obedience to the Pope in order to secure a moral reformation. In his letter to the Pope he assumes that Leo is on his side; but finds this course hopeless.

The English Reformation began at the other end. The

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occasion was the unjustifiable desire of Henry VIII. to get rid of his wife, and the first step was to make a breach with Rome. Any recasting of doctrine was alien from Henry's thought; any moral protest was confined to Churchmen. His breach with Rome made possible the doctrinal and moral reformation that the Church had in vain tried to carry out in previous periods. Henry rejected papal claims, not in the interest of a moral reformation, but on constitutional principles. Whatever his motive, he was able to claim that, in rejecting the claims of the Papacy, he was only doing what had been already done by the law of the land, and had been admitted and recognized by previous Popes.

(2.) *Progress or development.* When Luther broke with his superior, he had to reconstruct, whereas in England the constitutional machinery of the Church (archbishops, bishops, and convocations) remained in working order. England was able to claim that it was falling back on its constitutional liberties, that it was the same Church, with the same officers and the same faith. Hence the reformation of doctrine, when it did take place, was not left to the will of one man, but was the work of the National Church. Luther had to erect a system of Church Government, while the Lutheran doctrine was in a state of flux.

(3.) *Final results.* The Reformation on the Continent lost its continuity, its oneness with the historical pre-Reformation Church. It seemed careless about preserving continuity, and was anxious only that the Church should be conformed to the primitive model. On the other hand, in England the Church preserved its continuity of order and doctrine through the reconstructions of Edward and Elizabeth, while the Lutheran body had to reconstruct itself upon the basis of the Bible. The principle of continuity is the distinguishing feature of the English Church. "Warham, Cranmer, Pole, and Parker—there is no break in the line, though the first and third are claimed as Catholic, the second and fourth as Protestant."[1]

[1] Beard's "Hibbert Lectures," p. 311, in a remarkable passage which opens with the words, "There is no point at which it can be said, here the old Church

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If the English Church was exposed to dangers from a king and Erastian bishops limiting its ancient constitutional freedom, the Lutheran Church was exposed to all the attack of many-headed heresy, against which Luther could only oppose the Bible and his own strong will. Many interpreted the Bible differently from Luther. The Swiss opponents of Rome, while like Luther claiming the Bible and the Bible only, refused to accept it in Luther's sense, and this breach between the Saxon and the Swiss Reformation is traceable at the present day. The Anabaptists professed that in themselves they had higher inspiration than the Bible. The Lutherans could not appeal to Apostolic custom; but the English Church never took the Bible and the Bible only, revising while not reconstructing.

Nothing is more sad than the decay of Lutheran orthodoxy at the beginning of the eighteenth century. In England the Wesleyan revival was followed by a revival lifting men out of subjectivity. Then, in Germany, came the Pietistic movement. Spener said that he had a private religion which was untouched, though not very orthodox. Next came Rationalism, in the time of Frederic II., due to the influence of English Deism. Pietism shaded off into Rationalism. It would seem that what is operative in Germany is rather Swiss than Saxon, the latter being watered down.

LECTURE II.

THE GROWTH OF THE PAPACY.

a. CHURCH AND STATE.[1]

TO understand the enormous power, temporal and spiritual, possessed by the Popes, in virtue of which kings and

ends, here the new begins." See *ibid.*, p. 300: "The English Reformation, both in its method and in its result, is a thing by itself, taking its place in no historical succession, and altogether refusing to be classified."

[1] Janus, "The Pope and the Council;" Milman's "Latin Christianity," vol. iii.; Robertson's "Growth of the Papal Power;" Ranke, "Popes," vol. i. ch. i.; Reichel, "See of Rome in the Middle Ages."

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Emperors were deposed or excommunicated, and nations laid under interdict, it is useful to look back to the beginnings of that power and the means by which it was advanced and secured. (Of course the rise and progress of the papal power can only be traced in outline here.) Two distinct lines may be advantageously followed: (*a*) the first, indicating the way in which the Church triumphed over the State; (*β*) the second, the conflict between Pope and Council, culminating in the victory of the former.

(*a*) *Church and State.* The precedence of the see of Rome in the early centuries rested not simply on the civil greatness of Rome as the imperial city,[1] but on the fact that the Bishop of Rome "held the chair of Peter." The primacy of Rome consisted in four points: (1) Bishop of Rome; (2) patriarch of the suburbicarian Churches, *i.e.* the ten Churches governed by the "*Vicar Urbis*"; (3) the only Western bishop holding a see founded by an Apostle; (4) first in dignity among the bishops.[2] In the sixth canon of the Council of Nicæa (A.D. 325) the recognized order of the three "dioceses"[3] was this: Rome, Alexandria, Antioch. The Council of Chalcedon (A.D. 451) created a new patriarchate, that of Constantinople, and placed it second in order over the heads of Alexandria and Antioch. The explanation of this is plainly given in the thirty-eighth canon of Chalcedon. "The Fathers properly gave the Primacy to the throne of the elder Rome because that was the imperial city. And the hundred and fifty most religious bishops" (*i.e.* the Council of Constantinople, Canon III.), "being moved with the same intention, gave equal privileges to the most holy throne of New Rome, judging with reason that the city which was honoured with the sovereignty and senate, and which enjoyed equal privileges with the elder royal Rome, should also be magnified like her in ecclesiastical matters, being the second after her."[4] The canon

[1] Bright's "History of the Church," 313-451, p. 178.

[2] See *Ibid.*, p. 177, f.n.

[3] The term patriarch had not yet got its technical meaning, but was applied, as by Greg. Nazianzen, to venerable or "Abraham-like" bishops (Bright).

[4] See on this point, "Canons of the Four Councils," Bright's edition, p. 73; Littledale's "Petrine Claims," p. 96.

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of Constantinople (381) here referred to runs thus: "That the Bishop of Constantinople have the prerogative of honour next after the Bishop of Rome; for Constantinople is New Rome" (Canon III.[1]). This advancement of the diocese of Constantinople was passed in despite of the protest of the Roman legates, who objected that it altered the original order of the Council of Nicæa. By the Council of Chalcedon Constantinople for the first time became a patriarchate in the technical sense, the order of the four great patriarchates being Rome, Constantinople, Alexandria, and Antioch. But it serves to show how the patriarchs, like the metropolitans, took their order from the civil importance of their sees. Jerusalem, the most august see of all, and the mother of all the Churches, was, from its political insignificance, not made a patriarchate for four hundred and fifty years (Council of Chalcedon, 451), and then it was reckoned last in order.

From this preliminary view of the relation of Rome to the other patriarchates we may pass to the period of the beginning of the temporal power of the Pope.[2]

In the eighth century Rome was in extreme peril. On the west, the Saracens, who had crossed the Pyrenees and overcome the south of Gaul, were threatening Italy; on the north, the Lombards had crossed the Apennines, and were almost at the gates of Rome; on one side Mohammedanism, on the other Arianism,[3] threatened Roman Christianity. The Iconoclastic controversy had made a breach between the Pope and the Emperor of Constantinople. Everything conspired to drive the Pope into the arms of the Franks. *Charles Martel*,[4] in 732, drove back the Saracens and saved Western Christendom, in return for which he was

[1] Bright's edition, p. 27.

[2] See Milman's "Latin Christianity," vol. iii.; Ranke's "Popes," vol. i. ch. i.; Sismondi's "Fall of the Roman Empire," vol. i. For the interval between the Council of Chalcedon, 451, and this time, see Hussey, lect. i. and ii. Italy was reconquered for the Emperor of the East by Belisarius and Narses, A.D. 534-554.

[3] The Lombards had adopted Arian Christianity, while the Franks were orthodox.

[4] See summary in Gibbon, vol. vi. pp. 387, 388, 390. Charles Martel was mayor of the palace under some of the last of the Merovingian kings.

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excommunicated.[1] Twenty years later (754), when Stephen II. was Pope, the danger from the Lombards was at its height, but between this time and the repulse of the Saracens by Charles Martel, the bonds which connected the Pope with the Franks had been tightened. Pippin, who had seized the throne two years before, had required and obtained the approval of the Church, and was then anointed with holy oil by the Archbishop of Mentz, the saintly Boniface.[2] This constituted a claim on his support. The Pope himself left Rome to entreat his aid against the Lombards, who, under Astolph [Aistulf], were pressing to the walls of Rome. A close compact was made, the Pope promising that, under pain of interdict, the nation should never choose a king but of the race of Charles Martel, and Pippin, in return, was to be the protector of Rome. In face of this alliance Astolph retired and pledged himself to restore the territory of Rome. But no sooner had Pippin recrossed the Alps than all these promises were repudiated, and Astolph advanced on Rome, saying that "he would not leave the Pope a foot of land." Two letters[3] in quick succession were despatched (755–6) to Pippin for aid, promising him "victory over all the barbarian nations and eternal life." Still succour was delayed, and the Pope, with a wonderful audacity, wrote a third time in the name of St. Peter,[4] entreating help and, with a strange inconsistency, promising victory against the Lombards, and "in the world to come the everlasting joys of Paradise." Pippin and the Franks at once obeyed this apostolic command. The Lombards were driven (756) from the Exarchate.[5] The

[1] It seems Charles appropriated certain Church funds for the payment of his soldiers, etc., and thereby incurred a charge of sacrilege.

[2] [This last statement is doubtful. It is now believed that Pippin was anointed by Pope Stephen himself at St. Denis, on July 28, 754.]

[3] See the letters in Milman's "Latin Christianity," vol. iii. pp. 21, 22.

[4] *Epistle of St. Peter*. It seems that this plan had been tried before, as early as A.D. 481, by Pope Felix, who wrote to the Emperor against Peter Mongus, Patriarch of Alexandria. See Hussey's "Rise of Papal Power," lect. ii. p. 85. See the letter in full in Milman's "Latin Christianity," iii. 22; and Janus, pp. 134, 135.

[5] Exarchs were appointed by the Byzantine Emperors of the East to govern Central Italy after its conquest by Belisarius and Narses. Eutychus, the last exarch, was overcome by Astolph the Lombard, A.D. 752.

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Byzantine Emperor in vain demanded back the territory the Lombards had robbed him of. Pippin had undertaken the war, he said (or probably was reported to have said), to show his veneration for St. Peter, and he bestowed the whole upon the Pope.[1] The keys of the conquered cities were surrendered to the papal representatives, and thus, by the gift of a foreign potentate, a large part of Italy became the kingdom of the Bishop of Rome, and the Pope's temporal power began. This celebrated *Donation of Pippin* (756) was ratified by Charlemagne, son of Pippin. The Lombards had again advanced, and again aid had been sought from the Franks, and the "patrimony of St. Peter" was saved. By the *Donation of Charlemagne* (A.D. 774) the whole of Italy, the Exarchate of Ravenna, from Istria to the frontiers of Naples, including the island of Corsica, became the property of the Pope. Hadrian I. was now on the papal throne, and ruled the kingdom of the Lombards for twenty-four years (A.D. 772–795) under the protection of Charlemagne. Leo III. succeeded him (A.D. 795), and began by a distinct recognition of the supremacy of Charles, sending to him the keys not only of the city, with the standard of Rome, but those also of the sepulchre of St. Peter. From this time it became clear that the magnificent Donation of Charlemagne brought with it obligations quite inconsistent with the later view of the independence of the spiritual power. Both Pippin and Charlemagne had been honoured with the title of "Patrician of Rome." Both had prostrated themselves before the Pope. Charlemagne, when he entered Rome, so soon as he beheld the cross, dismounted and walked with his nobles to St. Peter's, where he was received and affectionately embraced by the Pope (Hadrian). It remained, however, for Leo III. to feel the extent of Charles's real power. When charges of nepotism were made against the Pope, the "Patrician" assumed the office of judge. The accusers were condemned, but the

[1] Milman (iii. 25) suggests that the Pope would meet the Emperor's claim by a charge of heresy. But if the forged Donation of Constantine was in existence at this time, and was not known to be a forgery, it would have justified the Pope, as it probably influenced Pippin.

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Pope had publicly to avouch his own innocence. It was soon after this, on Christmas Day of the last year of the eighth century (800), that Charles, the protector of the Papacy, with the nobles, the clergy, and people of Rome, attended Mass. The Pope celebrated Mass, and at the close of the service placed a splendid crown on the head of Charles, and proclaimed him Cæsar Augustus. The double significance of this act [1] is to be seen in that it distinctly recognized Charles as the head of the Western world, the Emperor of Rome, and the protector of the Papacy, and at the same time tacitly assumed the right to bestow kingdoms, which was easily expanded into the right to take them away.

The temporal power of the Pope was now established, but Charlemagne was the head of the Church.[2] To the popular view, no doubt, the very title to the Frankish monarchy, the Empire itself, appeared like a papal gift; but the real authority was with Charles. From this time a new phase begins, which takes the form of a struggle on the part of the Popes to get rid of the Erastian element. This phase extends from the days of Leo III. to those of Hildebrand, A.D. 1073, a period of nearly three hundred years.

The most important facts to notice in this phase are the two great forgeries, called the *Donation of Constantine* and the *Isidorian Decretals.*

(*a*) Of these the first, the Donation of Constantine,[3] was a document written in eighth-century Latin, purporting to be the deed of gift by which the Emperor Constantine gave Italy and the western provinces to the Pope of that day,

[1] [See Bryce's "Holy Roman Empire," pp. 49–58. It was the restoration of the Western Empire, which had been joined to the Eastern in A.D. 476, and was now to last from 800 to 1806 (*ibid.*, p. 366).]

[2] Witness the Council summoned by Charles to meet at Frankfort, A.D. 794, in which the worship of images was condemned, and the Seventh General Council repudiated. See Milman, vol. iii. pp. 94 *sqq.*; Hussey, lect. iii. pt. ii. p. 158.

[3] For the Donation of Constantine, see Janus, pp. 130–133 [and Bryce, pp. 100, 101, and Döllinger's "Fables relating to the Popes of the Middle Ages," pp. 107–178, where the date is fixed at between 752 and 777].

The story of Constantine's leprosy and miraculous cure was first produced in a letter of Pope Hadrian I. to the Seventh General Council at Nicæa, A.D. 787. See the story and criticism in Hussey, lect. iii. pt. ii. p. 160.

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Sylvester, with jurisdiction over Antioch, Alexandria, Constantinople, and Jerusalem. The Emperor tells how he served the Pope as his groom, and led his horse some distance. Probably this document was forged for the express object of securing the Donation of Pippin. If the donation was represented to him as a restitution, it will account for what is otherwise unintelligible. At all events, from the time when the Pope became master of the Exarchate, in A.D. 756, it was usual for the Popes to speak of restitutions[1] instead of gifts, and neither the Donation of Constantine nor the Epistle of St. Peter was likely to be critically examined at Pippin's court. It was an immense step to have claimed these gifts as a right, and not as a favour. It was a procedure closely parallel to the anointing and crowning of Pippin and Charles—a fact which [apparently] meant little at the time, but had in it the germ of a real papal supremacy.

(β) In the middle of the ninth century arose the monster forgery of the *Pseudo-Isidorian Decretals.* These purport to be decrees of the earliest Popes, Anacletus, Clement, and others, with acts of synods, etc.[2] On the strength of these forgeries, Pope Nicolas I. (A.D. 858–867), about the year 863–4, promulgated the view that all papal utterances were a rule for the whole Church, and all decrees of Councils dependent on the Pope's good pleasure, and, consequently, in a synod at Rome (863) he anathematized all who should reject the teaching and ordinances of a Pope.[3] For nearly two hundred years, till Leo IX. (1048–1054), nothing was

[1] Janus, pp. 134 *sqq.* "*Exarchatum Ravennæ et reipublicæ jura seu loca reddere*" ("Liber Pontificalis").

[2] [See Döllinger's "Fables respecting the Popes of the Middle Ages," pp. 94–100, where the date is fixed at about 845.] Papal forgeries, however, date back to A.D. 424, when the Canons of Sardica (Council of Sardica, A.D. 347) were transferred to Nicæa, and, to conceal the fraud, Pope "Julius" is altered into Pope Sylvester. See Hussey, lect. i. pp. 42–52. The spuriousness of these documents is indicated by such anachronisms as the following. A Pope of the second century corresponds with a Bishop of Alexandria who lived two hundred years later; and the earliest Bishops of Rome quote St. Jerome's version of the Bible, made A.D. 400. See Robertson, "Growth of the Papal Power," p. 161. For the main object of these forgeries, see *ibid.*, pp. 163 *sqq.*

[3] Milman, iii. 162, 163; Janus, p. 99.

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openly done to extend the papal power. The new discovery, carrying with it by implication papal infallibility, was left to germinate, while the Papacy itself was at its lowest point of moral degradation. The "iron age" began with Benedict IV., A.D. 900,[1] and included within it the period of harlot-rule initiated by Sergius III. (904–911). The Apostolic throne was now occupied by dissolute boys such as John XII. and Benedict IX., now the private property of Tuscan counts, till the Emperor Henry III. ended the scandal by elevating a German, Bruno of Toul (Leo IX.), to the see of Rome.

With Leo IX. (1048–1054) begins an age of reformation on the one hand and of rapid growth of the Papacy on the other. When two centuries more had gone by, the meridian of papal power was attained, and the crown became the slave of the mitre;[2] the most powerful of the Popes, Innocent III. (A.D. 1198–1216), declaring that "the pontifical authority so much exceeded the royal power, as the sun doth the moon."[3] It was in the persons of Gregory VII. (1073–1085), the celebrated Hildebrand, of Innocent III. (1198–1216), and of Boniface VIII. (1294–1303), that the Pope completed his triumph over the State.

Hildebrand drew out the system of papal omnipotence in twenty-seven theses (called his "Dictate"), many of which were mere repetitions from the False Decretals.[4] Of these

[1] See Milman, "Latin Christianity," iii. 284 *sqq.*; Janus, "Pope and Council," p. 100; Robertson's "Growth of the Papal Power," pp. 180, 181; Baronius, "Annales"—879, § 4; 900, § 1-6; 908, § 7; 912, § 9-11, quoted in Robertson. Baronius admits that the papal chair was filled by a succession of "monstrous men, most base in life, most abandoned in morals, and in every way most foul," and turns it into an argument in favour of the especial favour and blessing of Heaven on the Roman Church. Cf. the well-known story in Boccaccio of the conversion of a Jew by a visit to Rome.

[2] The history of the triple crown is this: Alexander III. (1159–1181), contemporary with Thomas à Becket, first placed the crown on the mitre; Boniface VIII. (1294–1303) added a second; and Urban (1362–1370), an Avignon Pope, about 1370, added the third. The triple crown signifies power in *heaven*, in *earth*, and in *hell*; originally, probably, it signified dominion over the three parts of the then known world. See Robertson, pp. 170, 171. [Gibbon (viii. 250, f.n.) attributes the third crown to John XXII. or Benedict XII.].

[3] Wylie, p. 16, f.n. [The same simile had been used previously by Gregory VII. Bryce, p. 376.]

[4] [See Robertson's "Church History," iv. 292, 293.]

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the following may be quoted:—The Pope's name is the chief name in the world (11); it is lawful for him to depose Emperors (12); his decision is to be withstood by none, but he alone may annul those of all men (18); he has the absolute power of deposing and restoring bishops (3 and 5), and of annulling the allegiance of subjects (8, 9, 27). It was in the hands of Hildebrand that excommunication received a new meaning, and the well-known story of Henry IV.'s penance at Canossa[1] is an indication of the awful power it wielded. The Pope's triumph in the matter of *investitures* was a reversal of the old relations of Church and State, or rather a recognition of their changed relationship. It was only a sign of the same change that, instead of the Pope seeking confirmation of his election from the Emperor, he was invited to confirm the election of the King of the Romans as Emperor.[2]

With Innocent III. (1198–1216), the most powerful of the Popes, about a century later, the Papacy reached its highest development. Till now the Pope had been Vicar of Peter; now he is *Vicar of Christ*.[3] In the century which had passed since the days of Gregory VII., all the papal forgeries had been co-ordinated and enriched at Bologna, the chief school of law in Europe. The Donations, the Decretals, the "Dictate" of Hildebrand, together with the contributions of Deusdedit, Anselm, Gregory of Pavia, and Gratian himself, were collected in Gratian's "Decretum," [4] which became the manual for canonists and scholastic theologians. Moreover, the Crusades had proved a mighty weapon in the hands of the Popes. The Greek Church was dispossessed, and, consistently with the Pope's claim to universal jurisdiction, Latin patriarchates

[1] See the sentence of deposition on Henry IV. in full, ap. Hussey, lect. iii. pt. ii. p. 174, and a list of later depositions, p. 175.

[2] [Bryce, p. 217.]

[3] Janus, p. 159. The title of "Vicar of Peter" was first used by Pope Felix, about A.D. 485, in a letter to the Emperor Zeno. He says, "St. Peter the Apostle speaks in me his Vicar, and Christ speaks in him" (Mansi, c. 1099, quoted in Hussey, p. 91). Innocent III. described himself thus: "*Vicarius Jesu Christi, successor Petri, Christus Domini, Deus Pharaonis, inter Deum et hominem medius constitutus, citra Deum, sed ultra hominem, minor Deo, sed major homine, qui de omnibus judicat, et a nemine judicatur*" (quoted ap. Hussey, p. 199, f.n.).

[4] See Janus, pp. 142 *sqq*.

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were established in Jerusalem and Antioch. The words of God to the prophet Jeremiah (i. 10) were appealed to to describe the power of the Pope: "See, I have set thee over the nations and over the kingdoms, to root out, and to pull down, and to destroy, and to throw down." "I alone," said Innocent—"I alone enjoy the plenitude of power, that others may say of me, next to God, 'And of his fulness have we received.'"

From these claims there followed naturally the high-handed interference in France and England (1208), both of which kingdoms were laid under interdict,[1] till Philip Augustus had to submit to the Pope's requirements (1200), and John consented to resign his crown and receive it as the vassal of Rome (1213). The bloody crusades against the Albigenses (1208–1215),[2] and still more, the beginning of that censorship of religious beliefs, which was afterwards known as the Inquisition, are characteristic results of the unchecked power. "Christ has committed the whole world to the government of the Popes," said Innocent III. Gregory IX. restated the fact, and on the discovery of America and the Indies, in 1492, the reigning pontiff, Alexander VI., logically enough claimed the right to decide between the contending claims of Spaniards and Portuguese.

Nothing more could be claimed for the Pope by Boniface VIII. (1294–1303). He was lord of heaven and earth, and the new world of Purgatory had not been explored. It remained only to consolidate and justify the supremacy. The first was attempted by a free use of the power already assumed; the latter, by an appeal to the Bible. With regard

[1] For the sentence of interdict on France, see Hussey, p. 193. The sentence was passed in 1199, in consequence of Philip Augustus having forsaken one wife, and unlawfully married another.

[2] This crusade resulted in the conquest of Toulouse and the adjoining countries. The Count of Toulouse was formally deposed by Innocent, and his territory conferred on Simon de Montfort. The Albigenses seem to have mixed up and accepted nearly all the early heresies, Manicheanism being predominant. See Limborch, "History of Inquisition," ch. iii. Similarly, Pope Alexander II. sanctioned William the Norman's invasion of England; Adrian IV. gave (1154) Henry II. possession of Ireland; and Innocent IV. (1245) gave the Count of Boulogne the kingdom of Portugal.

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to the latter, his violent perversion of the clearest texts was matter for ridicule even among contemporaries;[1] but as long as the principle was established, its justification was of minor importance. In the bull "Unam Sanctam,"[2] Boniface declares that it is necessary for every human creature to be subject to the Roman pontiff.[3] The temporal power must be subject to the spiritual, and be judged by it. "Oportet gladium esse sub gladio, et temporalem auctoritatem spirituali subjici potestati. Ergo si deviat terrena potestas judicabitur a potestate spirituali."[4] But the attempt to carry out this principle showed that a reaction was at hand. Edward I. of England (1272–1307), while avoiding an open breach with Rome, refused to become a papal tool.[5] Philip the Fair (1270–1314) openly opposed Boniface when he attempted to interfere between the king and his vassals—an opposition in which he had been preceded by the saintly Louis IX. Twice were the papal bulls burned. The king summoned "clergy, nobles, and *commons*" to meet at Paris (April 10, 1302),[6] and the result was an appeal from the Pope to a General Council. The Pope replied by excommunicating Philip. Philip in turn arraigned the Pope before the States-General, and threatened to get Boniface deposed by a General Council—no less than seven hundred acts of adhesion on the part of bishops, chapters, monasteries, etc., being given to the king. In spite of remonstrances and appeals, Boniface was preparing to depose him, when the papal palace at Anagni was invaded and the Pope taken prisoner. A few days after he was delivered, but died within the month (October 11, 1303) at the age of eighty-six.

[1] See reference in Janus, p. 162.

[2] For some of the more important clauses of this bull "Unam Sanctam," published A.D. 1302, see Hussey, pp. 178, 179.

[3] "*Subesse Romano pontifici omnem humanam creaturam declaramus, dicimus, diffinimus, et pronunciamus omnino esse de necessitate salutis*" (Hardwick, "Middle Age," p. 253, note 5).

[4] Quoted in Wylie, p. 16, f.n.

[5] Boniface wrote to Edward I., in 1299, that the kingdom of Scotland was the special property of the Roman Church, and therefore he must not touch it. [See Bishop Stubbs' "Constitutional History," ii. 152.]

[6] [This is the first recorded meeting of the States-General or Legislature of France.]

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Then almost immediately followed the seventy years' exile at Avignon, 1305–1376, and then the Great Schism, which lasted from 1378 till the Council of Constance, 1414.[1]

LECTURE III.

THE GROWTH OF THE PAPACY.

β. THE POPE AND THE COUNCIL.

THERE is still another phase in the development of papal supremacy to be noticed. Under Hildebrand, Innocent III., and Boniface VIII., the Church had triumphed over the State. In theory, if not always in fact, it was supreme; but *the conflict between Pope and Council was still to come.*

It is noteworthy that all the Councils which were held during the first nine centuries and which were counted œcumenical (even if we include the Fourth Constantinopolitan in 869), were held in the East, at Nicæa, Constantinople, Ephesus, or Chalcedon. It was nothing unusual for a Council in these early times to override the protest of the Pope or his legates, as we have seen in the case of the Chalcedon canon, which exalted the Patriarchate of Constantinople to the second place. In the same way it was nothing unusual for bishops of other sees to reject the decision of the Bishop of Rome, as in the celebrated instances of Pope Victor and Pope Stephen. But the most important illustration of the relation of Pope and Council in the period preceding the separation of East and West, is the condemnation of Pope Honorius by the Sixth General Council of Constantinople (A.D. 681). This Pope had openly espoused the Monothelite heresy, officially taught it in pontifical letters, and was in consequence condemned and anathematized, the representa-

[1] The Great Schism, 1378–1414: see Janus, p. 293. From 1378 to 1409 Western Christendom was divided into two Obediences (French and Italian), and from 1409–1414 into three.

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tives of the then reigning pontiff (Agatho) taking the lead in the matter. It is said[1] that a later successor, Gregory II., assured the Spanish bishops that Pope Honorius was certainly damned.[2]

During the tenth and eleventh centuries no great synod was held. Then in the beginning of the twelfth century the First Lateran Council was held, by Calixtus II. (A.D. 1123). This, the first general assembly of the West, is by Romanists called œcumenical. Now for the first time the Pope published decrees in his own name—*Auctoritate sedis apostolicæ prohibemus.*[3] Three more Lateran Councils followed in 1139, 1179, and 1215 respectively, the last under Innocent III. These were recognized as machines for promulgating papal decrees. The two Councils of Lyons, 1245 and 1274, and the Council at Vienne in 1311, were no less subservient. At the Vienne Council the Order of Templars was suppressed, not by the Council itself, but by the Pope (Clement V.), "by the plentitude of his power." A contemporary (Walter Hemingford) remarks that "this assemblage cannot be called a Council, for the Pope did everything out of his own head, so that the Council neither answered nor assented."[4]

Still the old traditionary position of the Council as the true counterpoise to papal arrogance, no less than as the court of final appeal in case of heresy, lingered on in the memory of Western Christendom. We have seen how Philip the Fair of France appealed to a Council against Pope Boniface VIII. In the fifteenth century an anti-papal reaction showed itself in the reforming Councils of Pisa (1409), Constance (1414-1418), and Basle (1431–1449).

The Council of Pisa, summoned to put an end to the Great Schism, succeeded in deposing both the rival Popes, Gregory XII. and Benedict XIII., and electing a new one, Alexander V. But none of the intended reforms were carried

[1] Littledale, p. 117.

[2] Case of Pope Honorius, Littledale, "Petrine Claims," pp. 114-118; Willis's tract, "Pope Honorius and the New Roman Dogma;" Renouf, "Case of Pope Honorius."

[3] See Janus, p. 191.

[4] Quoted *ibid.*, p. 196.

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out; and the deposed Popes refusing to submit to the Council, the schism became a triple instead of a double one. Still the power of the Council over the Pope was asserted in direct opposition to the dogma enunciated a century later by Leo X., that "the Pope has full and unlimited authority over Councils, and can at his good pleasure summon, remove, or dissolve them."[1]

The Council of Constance (to which, with the Council of Basle, we shall have to refer in connection with the Council of Trent) was the largest, in point of numbers, which had ever met in the West. Three hundred bishops and as many doctors were present. "Reform in the head and in the members" was now the imperative will of Europe, but for our present purpose the importance of the Council of Constance is to be found in the decision, passed (March 31, 1416) without a protest, that "every lawfully convoked Œcumenical Council representing the Church derives its authority immediately from Christ, and every one, the Pope included, is subject to it in matters of faith, in the healing of schism, and the reformation of the Church."[2] In pursuance of this expressed belief of Western Christendom, the then Pope John XXIII., the most worthless and infamous man of his time, was deposed (May 12, 1415) for adultery, and Martin V. elected in his place.[3]

The Council of Basle met (1431) in accordance with the decrees of Constance. But its opposition to, and final deposition (1438) of the reigning pontiff, Pope Eugenius IV., on the strength of the canon of Constance, is important as explaining the eagerness of Luther to appeal to a General Council, and the fear of the very name of a Council evinced by Clement VII.[4] It is true that the deposed Pope secured by bribery a triumph over the Council, yet he had been compelled to admit the superiority of the Council by acknowledging the

[1] Quoted in Janus, p. 198. [2] Quoted *ibid.*, p. 300.

[3] John XXIII. was deposed in express terms as simoniac, schismatic, and heretic. See Littledale, p. 121. In 1416 the council condemned John Hus and Jerome of Prague.

[4] See Ranke, i. 87.

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decrees of Constance.[1] *De jure*, the Council was supreme; *de facto*, the Pope was omnipotent. Nicolas V. revoked all that Eugenius said against the Council of Basle, while Pius II., in 1458, visited every appeal to a Council with excommunication.

This accounts for the fact that all hope of reform in head and members by means of a Council disappeared. The words of a Dominican in 1484[2] expressed the feeling of the age: "The world cries for a Council, but how can one be obtained in the present condition of the heads of the Church? No human power avails any longer to reform the Church through a Council, and God Himself must come to our aid in some way unknown to us."

List of Councils Œcumenical and Western.

No.	Council	Date		
I.	Nicæa	A.D. 325.	Universally accepted as Œcumenical.	Accepted as Œcumenical by Rome and Greece.
II.	Constantinople	381.		
III.	Ephesus	431.		
IV.	Chalcedon	451.		
V.	Constantinople (ii.)	553.		
VI.	Constantinople (iii.)	681.		
VII.	Nicæa	787.		
viii.	Constantinople (iv.)	869.		
	No great synod during tenth and eleventh centuries.			
ix.	Lateran (i.)	1123.		
x.	Lateran (ii.)	1139.		
xi.	Lateran (iii.)	1179.		
xii.	Lateran (iv.)	1215.		
xiii.	Lyons (i.)	1245.		
xiv.	Lyons (ii.)	1274.		
xv.	Vienne	1311.		
xvi.	Pisa	1409.		
xvii.	Constance	1414–1418.		
xviii.	Basle	1431–1449.		
VIII.	Continued at Florence	1439.	Accepted by Greeks as Eighth Œcumenical.	
xix.	Lateran (v.)	1512–1517.		
xx.	Trent	1545–1563.		
xxi.	Vatican	1870.		

[1] [For further details as to the fifteenth-century reforming Councils, see vols. i. and ii. of Professor Creighton's excellent "History of the Papacy during the Reformation."]

[2] Quoted in Janus, p. 343.

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The good and evil of the mediæval Papacy may be summed up thus :—

Politically—

(α) It was the great unifying power in a time of disintegration, and the champion of order against Antinomianism. It vindicated the supremacy of moral and spiritual force over brute force.

Here its work can hardly be estimated.

But (β) it secured its power by *ultra-centralization*, which always has in it the seeds of decay, and therefore it checked free development of thought and national life.

Hence we shall find the "New Learning" and the growing Nationalism combining against the Papacy and papal imperialism, and the Papacy associated with *tyranny.*

Religiously—

The Church has no *raison d'être* except the restoring in man the image of God, by bringing him into a Divine society.

The moment this end is lost sight of, the Church becomes "worldly"—incorporates earthly ideas of an earthly kingdom.

With the growth of temporal power came deterioration of morals. (Cf. Wiclif's view and criticise.)

Hence conscience enlisted against the Church, and we get an appeal to Christianity as against ecclesiasticism.

What had the mediæval conception of the Church added to the Christian and Catholic? It had not added a new view of what the Church was, but destroyed the balance of its different parts.

The first Christians believed[1] in the Church as a visible organized society, whatever the earliest elements of organization may have been. This society was (α) the home of Divine grace ; (β) the repository of moral and spiritual truth ; (γ) the organ of Divine authority.[2]

Romanism—(i.) emphasized the organization side to the detriment of the others.

(ii.) introduced the imperial idea borrowed from the secular world.

(iii.) arrived at a false view of *unity.*

[1] See Gore, pp. 56 *sqq.* [2] *Ibid.*, p. 12.

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Mediæval papacy was the counterpart of scholasticism in its over-unifying; and so both fell for same reason.

Yet at the middle of the fifteenth century the prospects of reform seemed helpless. The Church, in her corporate capacity, had made her protest in the reforming Councils, and had failed. The world lived in hopes of a "*Papa Angelicus;*" but he never came, or if he came, his reign was suspiciously short. Saintly men there were then as in every age; but they took refuge in the cloister or in religious mysticism from the corruption and unreality of the day. Wiclif and Huss had made their protest a century before, but their followers had little influence. The Lollards in England had developed the anarchical side of Wiclif's teaching, and the Hussites had divided into two sects, the Calixtines and the Taborites, of whom the first accepted the "Compactata" of Basle (1437), and the latter had drifted into presbyterian or lay ordination. Reforms by a Council had failed; reforms by individuals were but momentary flashes. One great name only we cannot pass over, that of the mystic, the reformer, the patriot *Savonarola.* His life was a noble failure, and yet he struggled against one who, as supreme Bishop of Western Christendom, has been named "the Nero of the Papacy."

Probably few characters in history have been more variously estimated than Savonarola.[1] Claimed by the great German reformer as a forerunner of the Reformation, the co-martyr of Hus and Jerome, he is indignantly defended by St. Philip Neri against the patronage of "that rascal Luther." Anathematized and martyred by one Pope, he is all but canonized by another. Accounted by some as a visionary and a fanatic, to others he is the inspired prophet. To these he is the child of his age, to those one born a century too soon.

His life is told in a few words. Girolamo Savonarola was born at Ferrara, in North Italy, in 1452, in the middle of

[1] For the life of Savonarola, see Villari's Life, in the preface to which an account of all previous works on the subject is given; Milman's essay on Savonarola; Symonds' "Renaissance," ch. viii.; "Life of Savonarola" (anon.), 12mo., London, 1843; Fred. Myers, "Lectures on Great Men;" George Eliot's "Romola."

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that century which had already witnessed the attempted reforms of the Councils of Pisa, Constance, and Basle. Well educated, and introduced very early to the revived study of Greek and Roman literature, he was trained by his grandfather, a celebrated physician, for that profession. But the deeply religious mind of Savonarola revolted from secular studies, and turned to Aristotle and St. Thomas. When he was twenty-three years old he ran away from home and took refuge in the Dominican monastery at Bologna. Deeply penetrated like Luther with the sense of sin, it was the sin of the great world outside, and of the Church itself, which oppressed him. His earlier poem on the ruin of the world ("*De Ruina Mundi*"), written when he was twenty, and followed three years after by another on the ruin of the Church, show the bent of his character. To a religious mind of the fifteenth century, the only practical solution of his difficulty was to seek in the cloister that life which was impossible in the world. In a letter written to his father the day after he entered the monastery (April 25, 1475), he says, "The reason which induces me to enter into a religious life is this: in the first place, the great wretchedness of the world, the violence, the adultery, the theft, the pride, the idolatry, the hateful blasphemy into which this age has fallen, so that one can no longer find a righteous man. For this many times a day, with tears, I chaunted this verse—

'*Heu fuge crudeles terras et litus avarum.*'"[1]

Puritan though he was towards the new pagan learning, it was this musical hexameter of Virgil which came almost as an omen to him; the very words, strangely enough, which half a century later (in 1524) Rabelais, the Franciscan friar, received as a "*sors Virgiliana*," bidding him fly the convent.

The religious orders had all through been the nurseries of reformation. St. Thomas, Savonarola's model, was a Dominican, and it was only natural that among the Preachers he, who was to be the greatest of fifteenth-century preachers,

[1] See Symonds, i. 432, 433; see the whole letter in "Life of Savonarola," pp. 42–45.

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should find a temporary home. But the spirit of the reformer was already showing in Savonarola. The burden of his poem on the ruin of the Church is the wickedness of the Roman Curia. "The old chaste time of the first Church has disappeared. Rome, polluted with all vices, rushes on towards a second Fall. But to denounce her condition is only to excite fruitless enmity. Nothing remains but to lament silently and to hold fast the hope of a better future."[1] "Proud, meretricious Babylon"[2] was to be shunned, but not resisted as yet. This was published in the year Savonarola entered his monastery. From that time Savonarola turned to the Bible, which he learned almost by heart; to Plato rather than Aristotle, St. Augustine in preference to St. Thomas, and the mystical bent of his mind became more plain. In 1481, after a seven years' novitiate spent in different Dominican convents, Savonarola received priest's orders and came to Florence, where he was appointed by the Prior of San Marco to preach the fast-day sermon in San Lorenzo in the following year. The result was utter and, as it seemed, hopeless failure. "My preaching," he says, "disgusted every one," and the congregation dwindled down to twenty-five, including women and boys. For three years, Savonarola, after this unsuccessful effort, gave himself up to exercise in preaching and instruction. Then all of a sudden, at Brescia (in 1486), the orator and the prophet is heard.[3] The Dominican friar has turned to the Apocalypse, and sees in it the picture of the sins of Italy and the coming judgment. Sixtus IV. had in 1484 been succeeded on the papal throne, and surpassed in wickedness, by Innocent VIII. the basest of men, if he had not been succeeded by Alexander VI., and the preacher's voice is raised, fearless and uncompromising, with a protest and a warning: "Repent. God's judgment is at hand. Italy is doomed; the measure of sin in priests and people is full.

[1] Life, p. 68.

[2] See the quotation, "*Una fallace superba meretrice Babylonia,*" Life, p. 68; [Symonds, i. 434; Villari, i. 23].

[3] See a vivid description of Savonarola's person and manner of preaching in Symonds, i. 440 *sqq.*

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Italy shall be desolated, and that soon."[1] After this burst of eloquence Savonarola again retires. Three years later (1489), he is summoned to the scene of his after greatness, and in 1491 elected Prior of San Marco at Florence. Lorenzo de Medici was there the ruling spirit, the embodiment of the revived pagan culture, accustomed to adulation and submission.[2] It was he who had [practically] appointed Savonarola to San Marco, and it was usual for the newly appointed prior to pay a formal visit of thanks to his patron. This Savonarola refused to do. "Who," said he to the astonished brethren—"who raised me to this dignity, Lorenzo or God? Let us render thanks to Him to whom they are due, not to mortal man." It was in vain that Lorenzo tried to move the prior. He visits the convent, but the prior takes no heed. He gives magnificent alms to the Church of San Marco, and the prior distributes them to the poor. Finally two chief citizens are sent to persuade the prior to be less severe in his preaching, more courteous to the great man, more tender to the culture of the day, and his answer is, "Go tell Lorenzo he is first of the Florentines, and I a poor brother, but he must go and I must stay."[3] Next year, when Lorenzo lay on his deathbed,[4] the words of the preacher, now almost at the height of his greatness, were quoted as a prophecy.

And now the preacher's victorious career had begun. In 1489 he had come back to Florence, and all the town thronged to hear his weird and awful denunciations. On August 1, 1490, he ascended the pulpit of St. Mark's, and preached a tremendous sermon from the Apocalypse. The day before he had said, "To-morrow I shall begin to preach, and I shall

[1] Villari, i. 84.

[2] Lorenzo and Savonarola, the pagan and the monk, are typical opposites of fifteenth-century thought. To Savonarola, Lorenzo was the incarnation of the modern heathenism; hence his puritan attitude towards art and literature. The philosophers, he said, were in hell, and an old woman might know more of saving faith than Plato did. In his reforms, pictures by Lorenzo di Credi and Fra Bartolommeo, together with manuscripts of Boccaccio and classic poets, with fineries valued at 22,000 florins, were burnt together.

[3] Villari, i. 131.

[4] The story of Savonarola at Lorenzo's deathbed is more than doubtful. See Villari, i. 168–172.

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preach for eight years."[1] Then the thunders of his eloquence made Florence tremble. The burden of his prophecy was always the same, always summed up in the three propositions, "Italy will be scourged; the Church will be reformed; these things will be in our time." In an age when all things seemed at peace he foretold war and invasion. When cultured paganism was enthroned in Florence and in Rome, the friar proclaimed a stern and rigorous reformation of morals. Within three years of his first sermon in St. Mark's, Lorenzo was dead, Charles VIII. had entered Italy,[2] and the mystic's vision was fulfilled. "*Ecce gladius Domini super terram cito et velociter.*" Alexander VI. succeeded Innocent VIII. in the very year in which Lorenzo died,[3] as though to prove to the world that the vices of Innocent VIII. could be surpassed, and the denunciations of Savonarola became daily more terrible. Two years and a half after Lorenzo's death, Charles VIII. entered Florence (November, 1494). Savonarola sees in him the predicted sword of the Lord. Piero, the weak son of Lorenzo, in vain tries to buy off the conqueror. The Florentines rise against him, and drive him and his brothers into exile. None but Savonarola (it is felt) can direct the scourge he had foretold. He goes as ambassador, not from Florence, but from the King of Kings, to the conqueror he had raised up. With stern denunciations he warned him to proceed with the work for which God had appointed him, else God would choose a new instrument to work His will.[4] Two days after, on Nov. 28th, Charles left Florence free, the pseudo-monarchy of the Medici overthrown, and Savonarola, the prophet-psalmist, supreme. It was now that the genius of Savonarola showed itself. The Scourge of God had done its

[1] Read his sermons in Symonds, pp. 448, 449, 455; Myers, p. 310. [For an account of the nature of his sermons see Villari, i. 135.]

[2] The younger house of Anjou laid claim to the kingdom of Naples and Jerusalem, and Louis XI. had been often invited into Italy. Innocent VIII. had to excommunicate Ferdinand, King of Naples, and encouraged Charles in his attempt. When Ferdinand died and his son was reconciled, the Pope tried to dissuade Charles from his enterprise.

[3] [Lorenzo died April 8, and Innocent July 25, 1492.]

[4] *Ibid.*, i. 226, 227.

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work, and freed Florence from the rule of the Medici. All now was ready for the realizing of Savonarola's dream of a real theocracy. From the pulpit of the Duomo he wields the temporal and the spiritual power. Called upon to reconstitute the State, he established a Grand Council like that of Venice. Florence was henceforth and for ever to be a republic, but Christ Himself was to be its head. Savonarola had already shown his administrative ability in the reform of the Dominican cloister of San Marco. By a brief from Pope Alexander he had, in 1493, [obtained the separation of San Marco from the Lombard congregation of Dominicans, and its erection into a congregation subject only to the General of the order and the Pope.][1] He was now to carry his reforms among the people. From the pulpit of the Duomo he entered upon a crusade against the vices of the age. Men and women were persuaded to throw aside their fine dresses and to reform their morals; luxury was done away with. The treasures of art and literature, so closely associated with the paganism of the Renaissance, were by the fierce puritanism of this revival collected and burnt (Feb. 7, 1497).[2] Savonarola was the very Pope of Florence, and what he ordained the people carried out. His denunciations of Rome, vice, and corruption were now more fearless than ever. The Pope was openly declared to be Antichrist. The end of the eight years was drawing near.

As both patriot and preacher, Savonarola had made many enemies. In his patriot zeal he had alienated the Medici family, who were now in exile at Rome; in his eagerness for reformation of morals he had offended the Arrabbiati, or aristocratic party, whose vices he censured. Only the Frateschi, or popular party, was with him.[3] The Pope feared

[1] [Villari, i. 159–162.]

[2] See George Eliot's "Romola," "A Pyramid of Vanities," and Villari, ii. 133, 134.

[3] The three great parties at Florence were: (i.) The *Piagnoni* (mourners), or Frateschi (brethren), with Savonarola at their head; the popular party, which lamented the corruption of morals and discipline, and wished for the restoration of the republic. (ii.) The *Arrabbiati* (the Frantic), or Compagnacci; young aristocrats of lax morals, who schemed for the overthrow of Lorenzo and the establishment of an oligarchy. (iii.) The *Bigi* (grey); the Medicean party, which commonly voted with the popular party against the Arrabbiati. (Symonds, i. 462, 463).

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and hated him, the Medici were working against him in Rome, the Signory were constantly changing. At first, indeed, the Pope had favoured him, had encouraged his schemes of reform, and made him chief of his Dominican congregation; but Savonarola's denunciation of Rome and the Papacy could not be endured. The Pope in vain attempted to entice him to Rome, and no less vainly sought to tempt him to be silent by the offer of a cardinal's hat. The messengers who made the proposal were bidden to hear his answer from the pulpit the next day (February 17, 1496). Once more he vehemently denounces the iniquity of Rome and Italy, and declares, "No red hat will I have but the red hat of martyrdom, coloured with my blood."[1] "His triumphal career" (says Milman)[2] "began with the Advent on Haggai and the Psalms in 1494, but it is in the Lenten course of 1496, on Amos and Zechariah, that the preacher girds himself to his full strength." From this time his unsparing attacks on Rome and the depravity of the clergy became, if possible, more vehement. "The scandal begins at Rome, and goes through the whole; they are worse than Turks and Moors . . . they have won all their spiritual benefices by simony. . . . The priests go for money to the choir, the vespers, and their office. They sell the benefices; they sell the Sacraments; they traffic with the Mass; in short, everything is done for money. . . . If a priest or canon lives well men will make game of him, and accuse him of hypocrisy. . . . At Rome it has become a saying, 'If you will ruin your son, make him a priest.'"[3] But now hostile forces were gathering round Savonarola, and as a last hope he appeals against the Pope to a free Council.[4] Letters are written to the Kings of France, Spain, Hungary, and England, and to the Emperor, exhorting them to call a General Council. Two of these letters are extant, and in these he declares[5] that *Alexander is no Pope*, first, because he has bought the

[1] Villari, ii. 49 *sqq.*

[2] Apud Symonds, i. 463.

[3] See the whole passage, Life, p. 322–3.

[4] For Savonarola's view of what a Council is, see *ibid.*, p. 326.

[5] See *ibid.*, p. 282.

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papal chair by simony, and, secondly, because he has disgraced it by abominable vices.[1] The controversy became now a struggle of life and death. On May 13, 1497, Savonarola is excommunicated. At first the Signory of Florence defended him against the Pope, and during the famine and plague actually invited him to preach again; but in March, 1498, the Medici faction secured the ascendency, the aristocratic party joined them, and the end was near. Forbidden by the Signory to preach, he ascends the pulpit for the last time on March 18, and declares that he is God's hammer,[2] to be thrown aside when the Master has done His work. On April 7, 1498, his Franciscan opponents challenge Savonarola to the ordeal of fire, and Fra Domenico was prepared to accept the challenge. But a violent storm put out the fire, and popular disappointment revenged itself on Savonarola. The Signory, in obedience to the papal order to put a stop to the "son of blasphemy," seized Savonarola, tortured him again and again, and condemned him to the scaffold. On May 23, 1498, with Fra Silvestro and Fra Domenico, he was hung and then burnt. As they stripped from him the friar's frock, the Bishop of Vaison said, "I separate thee from the Church militant and triumphant;" to which Savonarola answered, "Militant, yes; triumphant, no: *that* is not yours."[3] His last words were, "The Lord has suffered as much for me." And so died the great reformer of the fifteenth century, by the command of one whom after generations have named "the Nero of the Papacy." Savonarola, excommunicate as he was, died a martyr, and was universally reverenced as a saint, while at Florence the name of the patriot-prophet became the watchword of freedom.

[The following fragment occurs in the early recension of Mr. Moore's lectures, though not in that of 1889:—]

Attempts at Reform ab intra.

We have seen how, in the Roman Church, the separation between the external and internal elements of religion had been rapidly becoming more complete.

[1] For Savonarola's last letter to the Pope, March 15, 1498, see Life, p. 326, and Villari, ii. 289.
[2] See Life, p. 328.
[3] Villari, ii. 404.

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The revived paganism and immorality of the Renaissance showed the schism which existed between orthodoxy and faith. The papal power became great as the Papacy lost its hold on the life and morals of men. The spiritual life was, indeed, kept alive under the more or less suspected form of religious mysticism in such men as Bernard and Bonaventura, Eckhart,[1] Tauler, Nicolas of Basle, Gerson, Thomas à Kempis,[2] and some of the stricter among the religious orders. But the subjective and objective were separated, and the protest against such an unnatural dualism was inevitable. The mystic of the earlier age took refuge in his mysticism from the unreality and formalism of the day. But this was but a temporary phase. Before long this very mysticism joins in earnest vehement protest against the corruptions of the day in Savonarola and Luther.

Speaking in the Council of Trent in 1562, the Bishop of Paris declared that for these hundred and fifty years the world has demanded a reformation in the head and the members.[3] But even before the fifteenth century, and within the limits of the Catholic Church, men had been found to protest openly against the corruptions of the day. As far back as the middle of the thirteenth century, Bonaventura had likened Rome to the harlot of the Apocalypse.[4] In 1274 a statement by Humbert, the General of the Dominicans, was laid before the Council of Lyons, in which the extortions, and numerous legates, of Rome were openly charged with having prevented the reunion of the Greek with the Latin Church.[5] In 1310 Bishop Durandus enumerated the points of necessary reform in the Roman Church, tracing all its corruptions back to the papal court. "While the Curia goes on in this way," he says, "all remedies for the Church are vain." Simony, immorality, and extortion are the abuses which cry for reformation.[6] This book of Durandus was laid before the Council of Vienne (1311), but no practical effect was produced.[7] Still the more hopeful looked forward to a Council, even Pope Urban V. maintaining that the cessation of Councils was the main cause of the mischief.[8]

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[1] To Master Eckhart two streams of thought are traceable, the one orthodox, the other heterodox. On the one hand he is the father of Hegel; on the other, of Tauler, Nicolas, and Luther. See Ueberweg, "History of Philosophy," vol. i. pp. 468–484.

[2] Canon Farrar, with his usual superficiality, thinks the great merit of the "Imitation" is its protest against "sacerdotalism," as if the saintly author did not go to confession!

[3] Sarpi, p. 531.

[4] See the quotation in Janus, pp. 227, 228, and in Wylie, p. 16.

[5] See the passage in Janus, p. 321. [6] *Ibid.*, pp. 223, 224.

[7] Nothing of reform can be traced to those popularly accounted predecessors of reform.

(α) Waldenses. Collision one of discipline for they were Catholic in doctrine till 1532. The whole story of the Apostolic origin is a myth. See an article by W. A. B. C. in the *Guardian* of August 18, 1886, [and another in the same paper for December 4, 1889].

(β) Albigenses. Wanted not to reform away mediæval Papacy or distinctive Roman tenets, but to dispense with essential Christian truth. "They repudiated every article of faith which rested on the dogma of the Incarnation" (Pennington, "Preludes to the Reformation," p. 97).

[8] Janus, p. 225.

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Yet when the reforming Councils[1] of Pisa, Constance, and Basle were held, but little reform was effected. At Pisa, 1409, though only the year before the cardinals had admitted to Gregory XII. that "from the sole of the foot to the crown of the head there was no soundness in the Church,"[2] no sooner had the rival Popes been deposed and Alexander V. elected, than all schemes of real reform were put aside. At Constance (A.D. 1414), after the condemnation of *Hus and Jerome of Prague*, and the deposition of Pope John XXIII., a vigorous attempt was made by the English and Germans to proceed at once to questions of reform before electing a new Pope. But Italian and French influence was too strong, and the new Pope, Martin V., easily evaded any real questions of reformation by "reserving" them for the Pope. At Basle (1431 *sqq.*), in the same way, the need of reformation was admitted, but no active steps in reform were taken. Pope Eugenius, indeed, issued a bull of reformation, to "shut the mouths of accusers," but as soon as he succeeded (1437) in adjourning the council to Italian soil (Ferrara and Florence), all the schemes of reformation fell through.[3]

N.B.—The strength of this adjourned Council is due to the superficial reunion by compromise effected thereat by Eugenius with the Easterns. The primacy of Rome was admitted "according to Scripture and the sayings of the saints." But this meant to the Romans the pseudo-Isidorian Decretals and other forgeries, of which the Greeks coolly said, "All these canons are apocryphal." This Council is by Greeks reckoned the Eighth Œcumenical.

Then from the middle of the fifteenth century we meet still with vigorous protests against abuses, and the almost despairing appeal to a free Council.[5] In the reign of Pope Gregory XI. (1377), a century before the saintly but fanatical mystic, St. Catherine of Siena, "the spouse of Christ and the ambassadress of the Florentines,"[4] declared to the Pope's face that "the stench of the sins committed in the Curia was more offensive in her native city than to those who daily commit them;" but in the latter half of the fifteenth century a greater than St. Catherine was to arise in Florence, the mystic and reformer *Savonarola*, who made a last effort to secure a reform *ab intra.*

[Here followed the account of the great friar given above.]

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[1] See Reichel's "See of Rome," chapter headed "The Free Councils of the West."

[2] Janus, p. 303.

[3] See Janus, p. 317, and Sarpi, "Council of Trent."

[4] See quotations in Janus; pp. 342, 343, Abbot James, and Dionysius Ryckel; p. 355, opinion of Machiavelli; p. 356, of Guicciardini. See, too, quotations from same in Symonds' "Renaissance," i. 386.

[5] Gibbon, viii. 250.

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LECTURE IV.

THE RENAISSANCE IN ITALY AND GERMANY.

BUT what the attempted reforms from within could not do was already being done by an external force, a power which many of the Popes had fostered and encouraged, and which was destined to eat out the heart of the papal system.

If we look at the Renaissance at its zenith in the latter part of the fifteenth century in Italy, we are struck by the strange mixing up of "what we love in art and what we loathe in man,"[1] but the beginnings of the movement dated back to the previous century. For the fall of the mediæval Papacy dates from the death of Boniface VIII. in 1303. It had first shown its power by a "great dramatic act," the penance at Canossa. The imprisonment of Boniface at Anagni was the drama which manifested its decline.[2] The exile at Avignon (1305–1376) covers the period of Dante (1265–1321), the student of Virgil;[3] of Petrarch, the singer of love (1304–1374); and of Boccaccio (1313–1375), the champion of naturalism. [This is the Latin Renaissance.] Already the desire to get back from the present to the past was manifest. In art Cimabue (1240–1302), Dante's contemporary, had rediscovered the art of painting on canvas, and when the Great Schism followed, the world took refuge in the revived paganism from the glaring anomalies of papal Christianity. When in the middle of the fifteenth century the Greek Empire fell before the Turk (1453), and the new invention of printing, twenty years later, diffused knowledge of the ancient thought, *the* Renaissance [a specially Greek one] reached its height. Art, literature, architecture flourished; religion and morality were dying. It was the age of Leonardo da

[1] *Contemporary Review*, October, 1878, p. 645. [2] Creighton, i. 28.

[3] Dante's "De Monarchia" asserts the claims of the temporal against the spiritual power, the result of the struggle between Boniface VIII. and Philip IV. See Creighton, i. p. 30; [also Bryce, 263 *sqq.*]

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Vinci (1452–1519) and Michael Angelo (1475–1564) among the Florentines, of Raphael (1483–1520) among the Romans, of Titian (1477–1576), and Paul Veronese (1530–1588) and Tintoretto (1512–1594) among the Venetians. But the age of artistic and literary revival was the age of moral dissolution. The world had realized the glaring contrast between the sacerdotal claims of the Papacy and the vices and immorality of the Popes, and the first result was a return to paganism. The study of ancient models brought with it the ancient vices. Yet at the head of all stood Leo X., the cultured sceptic, the man whose character is summed up in "intellectual sensualism," the friend of Raphael and Ariosto and Machiavelli, the patron of art and literature, who would have been a Pope absolutely complete, says Sarpi,[1] if he had only added "some knowledge in things that concern Religion, and some more propension unto piety, of both which he seemed careless."

The Renaissance did not oust religion; it only tried to fill the throne which religion had vacated. The ecclesiastical system had become hollow and unreal—the religious consciousness had separated from its environment—a swarm of bees had settled in the dead lion's carcase, but there was sweetness instead of strength, corruption in place of life.[2]

But in the less degenerate and more earnest northern sections, the revival of learning was taking a new form which was to attack the Papacy with new weapons, and restore Christianity to something of its ancient vigour.[3]

The movement which in Italy took the form of refined sensualism and artistic dilettantism, showed itself beyond the Alps as vigorous, spiritual, and earnest. While Italy was

[1] Page. 4.

[2] See Hagenbach, i. 35, 38, for general condition of thought. See an amusing account of *preaching*, and of the medley of Christianity and paganism, *ibid.*, i. 39.

[3] "The breach had begun between the Italian and the Teutonic spirit. The Italians were bent upon securing for the individual emancipation from outward systems by means of culture; the Teutons wished to adapt the system of Christendom to the requirements of the awakening individual. The Renaissance and the Reformation began to pursue different courses" (Creighton, vol. ii. p. 333). But the starting from the individual was the common element in both.

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unconsciously destroying its own powers of resistance, Germany was as unconsciously preparing the means for attack.

Three men stand out conspicuously as champions of this more earnest and vigorous revival of letters—Reuchlin (1455–1522), Erasmus (1467–1536), and Ulrich von Hutten (1488–1523). Of these the first was characterized by a genuine love of learning, not only in the direction of Greek language and literature, but even of Hebrew, a language unknown except to the Jewish Rabbins. He did not shrink from studying under a learned Jew, though such a step was at that time looked upon as little less than heretical, and in 1506 he was able to publish a Hebrew Grammar which opened the way to the study of the Old Testament.[1] Reuchlin's friendship and sympathy with the Jews soon brought him into collision with the orthodox theologians of Cologne. A lengthy controversy ensued. The Pope, Leo X., attempted to withdraw Reuchlin from it, but in vain. On appeal to Rome Reuchlin was acquitted, and his supporters came to be regarded as the champions of learning against ecclesiastical ignorance and prejudice. In the "Triumphus Capnionis" Hutten represented this victory in the language of a Roman triumph.[2] The "Epistolæ Obscurorum Virorum" (published in 1516 and 1517),[3] were in like manner a defence of Reuchlin against the friars, ridiculing the pedantry and satirizing the ceremonial observances of fasts, etc., sometimes raising an earnest protest against abuses such as indulgences, but for the most part written in a mocking, satirical tone. We notice in them, as in the history of Reuchlin himself, the easy transition from the literary protest against ignorance to the moral protest against abuses.

[1] "Reuchlin and Erasmus gave the Scriptures to the learned; Luther, *to the people*" (D'Aubigné, i. 118).

[2] See Hagenbach, i. 55.

[3] The "Epistolæ" were written mainly by Crotius Rubianus [Johann Jäger], though Hutten contributed to the second issue. [Teubner published a cheap edition in 1869.] The difference between Luther and Erasmus is well marked in their attitude towards these "Epistolæ." See D'Aubigné, i. 129; [Beard's "Life," p. 197, and "Hibbert Lectures," p. 61].

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Erasmus was throughout the cautious man of books, using freely the weapons of satire and ridicule, but shrinking from any open conflict with the ecclesiastical power.[1] His Greek edition of the New Testament (1516) was the complement of Reuchlin's labours on the Old Testament. Yet his attitude towards the Reformation of Luther, like his attitude towards the Catholic Church, was almost that of an outsider; influencing strongly and influenced by the Reformation movement, he was in no sense a Reformer. His celebrated "Praise of Folly" was not so much a protest against the vices of priests and people as a literary satire on people whom he despised. He was too learned to accept Luther's rough-and-ready theories, particularly as to the freedom of the will. Luther said of him, "Erasmus knows very well how to expose error, but he does not know how to teach the truth"[2]. The maxim of Erasmus[3] was, "Give light and the darkness will disperse itself."

Ulrich von Hutten, the youngest of the three, had in him far more of the Reformer than either Reuchlin or Erasmus, whom he spoke of as "the two eyes of Germany." Not only was he the author in part of the second issue of "Epistolæ;" he also wrote (1519, published 1520) a dialogue called "Vadiscus, die römische Dreifaltigkeit" (the Roman Trinity), in which the Protestant Reformer's animus against Rome is plainly marked;[4] and Erasmus, with his characteristic caution, attempted to check the ardour of his youthful follower. Ulrich von Hutten was the connecting link between the men of the sword and of the pen, and was called "the Demosthenes of Germany" for his philippics against the Papacy.

These three men may be cited as typical of the literary side of the Reformation movement. The actual collision with the Roman Church had not come, but the germ of it was to be seen in the protest of Erasmus and the Humanists against monkish ignorance and sloth. The New Learning was

[1] See D'Aubigné, i. 119 sqq.
[2] *Ibid.*, i. 118. See the context.
[3] See Milman's essay on him, [and Drummond's Life].
[4] See Hagenbach's selections, i. 59.

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already being enlisted against the papal throne,[1] while the reigning Pope fancied himself *en rapport* with the new movement.[2]

LECTURE V.

THE POLITICAL STATE OF EUROPE AT THE OPENING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.[3]

THE death of Savonarola (1498) brings us to the close of the fifteenth century, and we are now able to gather up the various elements which combined in the Reformation movement.

The Renaissance, now at its zenith, testified to the breach between religion and faith. Paganism was vainly trying to replace a dying Christianity; the religious mystic retired from the world, or died a martyr to religion in a godless age. The more ecclesiastically minded still hoped against hope for a free Council under an ideal Pope. The kings of the earth were waiting for an opportunity to throw off the galling yoke of the Papacy. In Europe the law of progress from the homogeneous to the heterogeneous was becoming manifest. Imperialism, of which the Papacy was the ecclesiastical counterpart, was giving way to Nationalism. The distinctive characteristic of the Teutonic races, as contrasted with Italians and Spaniards, was becoming more and more evident, and the prospect of a schism more certain.

The reigns of three Popes, if we omit Pius III., who

[1] For Reuchlin, Erasmus, and Ulrich von Hutten, see Hagenbach, vol. i. pp. 45 *sqq.*, 278 *sqq.*; D'Aubigné, i. 106 *sqq.*; Ueberweg's "History of Philosophy," ii. pp. 10, 11; [Beard's "Hibbert Lectures," lect. ii., and "Martin Luther," ch. iii.]. For the converse, the effect of the Reformation on literature and art, see Roscoe's "Leo Tenth," vol. ii. pp. 239 *sqq.* On the relative parts played by Reuchlin, Erasmus, and Luther, see the account of the Dumb Comedy in Hagenbach, vol. i. p. 78. For the relation of Erasmus and Luther, see Hagenbach, vol. i. pp. 279 *sqq.*

[2] "The Popes did not at first perceive that what they had taken up as a toy was in reality a sword that might destroy them" (D'Aubigné, vol. i. p. 106).

[3] [See Bishop Stubbs' Lectures, 9 and 10].

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only reigned for twenty-one days (in 1503), connect the fifteenth century with the time of Luther's Reformation. Of these, the first was Alexander VI. (1492–1503), whose vices were exposed by Savonarola, and who avenged himself by the martyrdom of the reformer. The openness of his vices was a scandal even to the men of his day, accustomed as they were to license and simony in high places. A current epigram of the time is quoted, "Alexander sells the keys, the altars, Christ. Well, he bought them; so he has a right to sell them."[1]

He was succeeded in 1503 by Julius II., "more of a soldier than a Pope," as Sarpi says. He found all Italy in confusion. For the families of Orsini and Colonna and Vitelli, with many others who had fled from the dagger or the poison of Cæsar Borgia, had returned, and carried on their family feuds in the very streets of Rome. Julius reduced these to order with a strong hand, and even seized the castles of Cæsar Borgia, and deprived him of his dukedom. Peace being established in Rome, the Pope set about the darling object of his life—the extension of the States of the Church. He stormed Mirandola, rescued his baronies from the Venetians, and made himself master of Parma, Placentia, and Reggio.[2] Never had the Church possessed so wide a dominion. Then he turned to the beautifying of Rome itself, with all the treasures of Renaissance art.

In 1513 the first of the Medicean family, son of the Lorenzo who had raised Savonarola to his position as Prior of San Marco, ascended the papal throne under the title of Leo X. Of his "intellectual sensuality" we have already spoken. He was too much of a Medicean to do more than affect religion, but he was a patron of art and literature, with plenty of that toleration which has its roots in indifference, unwilling even to excommunicate Luther as long as there was any hope of bringing the refractory friar to obedience.[3]

[1] Symonds, i. 348.

[2] Ranke, i. 40-42.

[3] Cf. the epigrams on the three Popes, Alexander VI., Julius II., and Leo X., as respectively the champions of Venus, Mars, and Pallas—

"Olim habuit Cypris sua tempora; tempora Mavors
Olim habuit; sua nunc tempora Pallas habet."

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In Europe the principle of Nationalism had superseded the worn-out Imperialism to which the Papacy still clung.

England was ruled by the strong hand of a Tudor. The Wars of the Roses had ended with the battle of Bosworth (1485), and Henry VII.'s marriage with Elizabeth of York (1486). The Wars of the Roses had degraded England to a third-rate power, but Wolsey tried hard to make it a first-class one, by playing one continental power off against another. Rise of a new nobility, and of a middle class.

Spain had been "unified" by the marriage (1469) of Ferdinand, later King of Aragon, with Isabella, Queen of Castile (1474), and by his accession in 1479; while in 1492 he became King of all Spain by the conquest of Granada.

France, under Louis XII., who had succeeded Charles VIII. in 1498, was ready to reassert her claim to Naples and Jerusalem, and was preparing for a new invasion of Italy.

Germany, since the Electoral league of Rhense (1338) and the so-called Golden Bull of Charles IV. (1356), had been definitely organized under the Empire, the election to which was in the hand of seven Electors—three clerical, viz. the Archbishops of Mentz, Trèves, and Cologne; and four laymen, viz. the King of Bohemia, the Count Palatine of the Rhine, the Duke of Saxony, and the Margrave of Brandenburg. This constitution had been still further consolidated by the Emperor Maximilian (1493–1519), who had organized Germany, with the Netherlands and Burgundy, into ten "circles" (1512). [Burgundy and the Netherlands were secured to the house of Austria in 1477 by the marriage of Mary, heiress of Charles the Bold, Duke of Burgundy, with Maximilian. Their son Philip married (1496) Joan, the heiress of Spain; the issue of this latter marriage being Charles, who was King of Spain (1516–1556) and Emperor (1519–1558).] Of the Electors, the most important in the Reformation history is the Elector of Saxony. In 1485 this state, by the Treaty of Leipsic, had been divided between the sons

To which it was answered—

"Mars fuit; est Pallas; Cypria semper ero."

(See Roscoe, vol. i. pp. 219, 313.)

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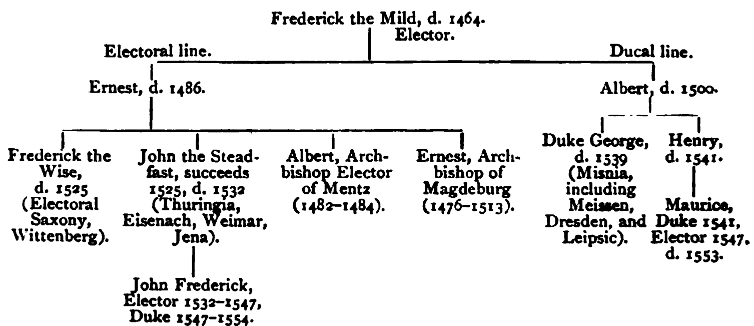
of Frederick the Mild, Ernest and Albert. Frederick III. was son of Ernest, and Duke George, his cousin, son of Albert. It was Frederick III. who was elected regent on the death of Maximilian, an office which he had already twice discharged (in 1496 and 1501).[1]

Italy alone among the kingdoms of Europe seemed to have made no progress towards national unity. Its fairest towns were the prey of the other European powers, who had been in turns invited by the Italians. Julius II., the warrior Pope, had indeed consolidated the Papal States over which he ruled as one of the sovereigns of Europe; but this entire secularization of the ecclesiastical power degraded him from the proud imperial position which, as king of kings on earth, Innocent III. and Boniface had assumed. Outside the Papal States there was nothing but confusion, Italy being the battle-ground of France, Spain, and Germany, with whom the Pope for the time being took sides as it suited his convenience.

The invasion of Italy by *Charles VIII.* (1494) had effected nothing, and by the intervention of Spain he had been compelled to retire without even restoring Pisa to Florence. The Florentines, therefore, undertook the siege, sometimes with French aid, sometimes Spanish, sometimes Venetian. For fifteen years, with intermissions caused by pestilence, or domestic danger from the often-repeated attempts of the Medicean party to return, the siege was carried on till, *in* 1509, *Pisa returned* to its obedience. Meanwhile a new

[1] SAXONY DIVIDED BY TREATY OF LEIPSIC, 1485.



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descent on Italy had been made (1499) by Louis XII., who in 1498 succeeded Charles VIII. The French king was leagued with the Pope, the Venetians, and the Florentines,[1] and conquered Milan. Ludovico Sforza appealed in vain for help to Germany, and then hired Swiss mercenaries, who treacherously went over to their brethren who were fighting for Louis. By treacherous collusion between France and Spain, *Naples* was taken, and then the robbers quarrelled over their prey. Gonzalo di Cordova takes Naples from the French (1503), but a compromise is effected by the marriage (1506) of Ferdinand (now a widower) with Germaine de Foix, the niece of Louis XII. Maximilian now appears in Italy (1507), and the Venetians, faithful to their French allies, oppose him, and compel him to make a three years' peace. Louis XII., displeased at this, determined on the overthrow of Venice. The *League of Cambray* (1508) united the Empire, France, Spain, and the Pope, for the dismemberment of Venice, even England and Hungary being invited to share the spoil. Maximilian's three years' peace was easily repudiated, and Venice, after a vigorous resistance, was compelled to surrender her most precious dependencies (1509). The Pope, having got the Romagna, and fearing the preponderance of the French in Italy if they conquered Venice itself, deserts the allies and schemes against Louis, exciting a rebellion in Genoa and inviting England to attack France. On the dissolution of the League of Cambray, Louis XII. and Maximilian are found opposing the Pope, and actually summoning a *Council at Pisa* (1511). This opposition was met by *the Holy League* (1511), in which Spain, Venice, and England were to unite with the Pope against France and Germany. Florence was, of course, against the Pope. Soon after we find *Maximilian* making terms with the Venetians, and Louis XII. was alone. The arrival of eighteen thousand Swiss in the pay of the Pope made the French cause hopeless, and compelled their retreat

[1] The Pope (Alexander VI.) had a private pique against the King of Naples for refusing to have Cæsar Borgia as a son-in-law! The Venetians were disgusted with the uncertain policy of Ludovico Sforza of Milan, and the Florentines since the time of Savonarola always looked upon the French as their saviours.

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from Italy (1512–13). Florence, the faithful ally of France, was now declared the enemy of the Holy League by the influence of Cardinal de Medici, who had, as Legate of Bologna, commanded the papal troops, and in 1512 Giuliano de Medici was restored to Florence, from which he had been banished eighteen years before. The popular government was overthrown, and everything restored as it was in 1492 before the invasion of Charles VIII.

The part played by the Pope in these complications shows how very slight was the tie which bound the kings of Europe to their allegiance. In Reformation days we shall find the same fact illustrated. The Pope, with his limited temporal, but unlimited spiritual power, was a useful makeweight to turn the scale of European parties, and he himself almost avowedly set before himself the preservation of the balance of power among the three great sovereignties of the Continent.

It is remarkable that within the ten years from 1509 to 1519, all the great sceptres of Europe had changed hands. In 1509 *Henry VIII.* had succeeded his father Henry VII. *Leo X.*, the Cardinal de Medici, had succeeded (1513) the warlike Julius II. On the throne of Spain the youthful *Charles I.* had taken the place of his grandfather Ferdinand in 1516. *Francis I.*, in 1515, succeeded to Louis XII., who had died three months after his marriage with Mary Tudor, Henry VIII.'s sister, and when in 1519 the Emperor Maximilian died, three royal candidates offered themselves—Charles and Francis openly, and, as we learn from the State Papers, Henry VIII. of England secretly and through the great politician of the day, Cardinal Wolsey.

It was in 1517 that Martin Luther published his theses and opened the first act in the Reformation.

To sum up, the causes which led to the Reformation were—

I. *Within the Roman Church.*

(*a*) Deterioration of morals and religion.

(β) Loss of unity (schism in Papacy; internal conflicts of Scholasticism).

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II. *Outside forces.*
(α) (Moral.) Revived paganism (naturalism) of Renaissance.
(β) (Literary.) Appeal to antiquity (Bible) *v.* Church.
(γ) (Political.) Growth of Nationalism.

III. *General tendency to individualism*, which always shows itself in a period of disintegration.
This shown (α) in the anti-Catholic Reformers.
(β) in the Jesuits.

LECTURE VI.

THE PERSONAL PHASE OF THE REFORMATION (1517–1521).

LUTHER'S protest (October 31, 1517) against indulgences[1] is commonly taken as the beginning of the Reformation. Roman Catholic authorities are anxious to find an unworthy motive for it, and state that Luther the Augustinian was angry at the appointment of the Dominican Tetzel, regarding it as a breach of privilege. Pallavicino, assuming this explanation, takes pains to show that the Augustinians never had a monopoly of the farming of indulgences, which is probably true. Protestants, on the other hand, often confuse Luther's later position with his earlier, and ignore the fact that Luther's first protest was not against indulgences,[2] but against the abuses of the questors. When from this he was led to question the whole theory of indulgences, we find that within the pale of orthodoxy the opinions were so different that, even five years after (1522, Adrian VI.), the cardinals dissuaded the Pope from making any decree on the subject.[3] It is said that these indulgences grew out of what was originally a remission, wholly or in part, of ecclesiastical censures, or dispensations from ecclesiastical rules of discipline. The sale was, in any case, an abuse for which the dispensers of

[1] See Köstlin, pp. 91 *sqq.*
[2] See *ibid*, p. 95, *q.v.*
[3] See Sarpi, pp. 19–21. Four opinions, and all Catholic.

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the indulgences were often mainly responsible. Pope Urban II. (A.D. 1088) granted an indulgence to all who fought for the Holy Sepulchre. His successors granted it to those who, though not serving personally, yet maintained a soldier. This, again, was extended to those who defended the cause of the Church against heretics. The wars of Pope Julius had so exhausted the treasury that, as the Roman Catholics admit,[1] he was compelled to raise funds for the rebuilding of St. Peter's by employing "agents and means but little suited to the spirit of the times," or indeed to the spirit of Christianity; and his example was followed by Leo, who "published indulgences throughout the Christian regions, with permission to eat whitemeats and eggs on fast days, and leave to choose a confessor" on condition that a voluntary offering was given towards the rebuilding of St. Peter's. The Archbishop of Mentz, Primate of Germany, had been much impoverished by the sum he had to pay for his *pallium*, and other expenses relating to his election. [Germany was divided into three districts for the sale of indulgences, and] the archbishop appointed Tetzel [who was already notorious as an agent in such matters] for his own district, the proceeds to be equally divided between the Pope and the archbishop. So thoroughly commercial was the process, that the representative of the bankers from whom the archbishop had borrowed went round with Tetzel, having private keys to his money-box.[2] It is obvious that this was easily abused by unscrupulous quæstors such as Tetzel was, and we shall find the Council of Trent, while defending indulgences, abolishing the office of quæstors, and entrusting to the Ordinary the publishing of indulgences

[1] Waterworth, p. iii. ; Pallavicino, book i. ch. ii.

[2] See Beard's "Life," p. 203. There are three parts in penance—

(1) *Repentance*, which in its fullest form of "contrition" is sorrow for sin from a recognition of the love of God. But a lower form, known as "attrition," is sorrow for sin from fear of punishment.

(2) *Confession*, which implies formal confession to a priest.

(3) *Satisfaction*, which may be restitution for wrong done, or, when this is impossible, a penalty assessed to remind the sinner of what his sin had been. The idea that the payment of money was a satisfaction for sin against God had grown up. This is what Luther attacked. Repentance had been absorbed in the penalty of satisfaction.

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and spiritual graces, that people may understand "that these heavenly treasures of the Church are administered, not for gain, but for godliness."[1] It was against the abuses of the quæstors[2] that Luther first protested, and these abuses were admitted, and in theory reformed, by the Council of Trent.

Luther[3] had at first no intention of going further than this protest against abuses, but the defence of the abuses led to an investigation of the general theory of indulgences. Tetzel was followed by Eck[4] in his opposition to Luther's theses, and the matter was soon taken up by the Emperor in the Diet which met at Augsburg, which called on the Pope to deliver judgment on Luther. Luther was summoned to Rome nine months after his first protest (August 7, 1518) by a monitory of the Auditor della Camera, who was also to judge the cause. By the assistance or collusion[5] of the Elector of Saxony, Luther obtained leave to have the case tried in Germany instead of Rome, and the Cardinal Thomas de Vito, of Gaëta [Cajetanus],[6] was appointed to act as judge *in Augsburg*. Meanwhile the teaching of Luther was taking shape in *Heidelberg*,[7] and the legate soon found, in spite (according to Sarpi[8]) of munificent offers, that the breach could not be healed. Three interviews (the first October 12, 1518) took place, in which Cajetan refused to argue on equal terms, and Luther refused to submit to the legate's authority, asserting his orthodoxy, and even appealing to the Constitution "Unigenitus" of Clement VI., consenting to submit to

[1] See Waterworth, pp. 151 and 277; also Pallavicino, book i. ch. ii.

[2] See Sarpi's spiteful but amusing account of the origin of the doctrine of indulgences (pp. 6, 7). Waterworth (p. vi.) assures us that Leo was not responsible for Tetzel's appointment. He was appointed by the Pope's delegate, Albert of Brandenberg, Archbishop Elector of Mentz.

Sarpi (pp. 4, 5), on the contrary (flatly contradicted by Pallavicino, book i. ch. ii.), says Leo gave the indulgences of Saxony to his sister Magdalen (wife of the illegitimate son of Innocent VIII.), who appointed Bishop Arembold.

[3] See letter to Leo, of May 30, 1518; and cf. Hagenbach, i. 104, and Hardwick, p. 18, f.n.

[4] (i.) Tetzel; (ii.) Sylvester Mazzolini of Prierio; (iii.) Hoogstraten, all Dominicans; (iv.) John Eck, Professor at Ingoldstadt.

[5] See Waterworth, p. xiii.; Pallavicino, I. vii. 2.

[6] See Hardwick, p. 19.

[7] See his Paradoxes in Pallavicino, I. vii. 3.

[8] Page 7.

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the decision of the three great universities of the Empire—Basle, Freiburg, and Louvain, and even the University of Paris (though afterwards he took no notice of their condemnation). The interviews ended, Cajetan and Luther separated (Luther leaves Augsburg, October 28); and Luther, seeing that his cause with the Pope was already decided, [appealed to the Pope, October 16, and then] determined to appeal *to a Council* (November 28), which is above the Pope. Prierias (*i.e.* Sylvester Mazzolini of Prierio) the Master of the Sacred Palace, Hoogstraten the Inquisitor, Dr. Eck the representative of the Schools, Cajetan the papal legate, had all declared against him. His one hope was in a Council.

This appeal to a Council is generally represented as the result of a bull of Leo, dated November 9, on indulgences; but, as Pallavicino points out,[1] even if the bull had been promulgated on the day, it could not have reached Wittenberg for a month afterwards. According to Pallavicino, the bull was not published till December 13, or fifteen days after Luther's appeal at Wittenberg. A month later (January 12, 1519) Maximilian died, leaving the Elector of Saxony [acting] head of the Germanic confederation.

The year 1519 witnessed the embassy of Miltitz as Pope's legate to the Elector of Saxony, with the present of the golden rose. Conferences between the legate and Luther were shortly after arranged. The legate admitted the abuses, and censured the conduct of Tetzel. Luther replied that the Pope was the cause of all. The price to be paid for the *pallium* drove the Elector-Archbishop of Mentz[2] to employ Tetzel. Yet the result of Miltitz's negotiation was to secure from Luther (March 3, 1519) a full recognition of the Pope's supremacy[3] and a reference of the cause to the arbitration of the Archbishop of Trèves, both parties in the mean while refraining from writing on the subject of indulgences. Various causes postponed the arbitration, amongst them Luther's disputation with Eck at Leipsic (June 27—July 13, 1519). With this dis-

[1] I. xii. 6. [2] Köstlin, p. 86, *q.v.*

[3] See Pallavicino, I. xiv. 5; Waterworth, p. xxv.; quote Beard's "Life," p. 275.

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cussion we are not now concerned, except to note that in it Luther is found fighting side by side with Carlstadt, the precursor of German Rationalism. He was led to draw a distinction between the Church and the Latin Church, and to accuse the Council of Constance of having, in Hus's case, condemned some things which were undeniably Christian.[1] Charles was elected Emperor (June 28, 1519) during this discussion, the Elector of Saxony having refused the purple. Eck, after the discussion, returned to Rome, where, in conjunction with the chief canonists and theologians, a bull is framed (dated June 15, 1520) and published at Rome next day, condemning forty-one propositions of Luther[2] and threatening excommunication unless they are retracted within a hundred and twenty days. This bull Eck carried back in triumph into Germany, and published it in Meissen, on September 21, and sent a copy to the University of Wittenberg early in October. Meanwhile Miltitz was still sanguine enough to hope that a breach might be avoided, and persuaded Luther, whom he met at the Castle of Lichtenberg (Torgau district), to write the long-promised letter to the Pope, explaining his position. This,[3] with the treatise on Christian liberty, was written in the middle of October, but by Miltitz's advice antedated to September 6, so as to precede the bull published in Saxony on October 16. Luther, however, knew that it was too late. The newly elected Emperor was against him, and had had his works publicly burnt. He therefore renews his appeal for a Council (November 17, 1520), and a few days afterwards proceeds to burn the *Pope's bull* (December 10, 1520), together with the volumes which composed the canon law. The hundred and twenty days of grace had now expired, and on January 3, 1521, the Pope issues a bull of unconditional excommunication, and sends the papal legates, Carracioli and

[1] For the discussion, see Pallavicino, I. chs. xv.–xvii.

[2] They, however, still continued to be taught in the University of Wittenberg. Pallavicino, I. xxii. 7.

[3] See quotation from it in Beard's "Life," pp. 369, 370. Address to Christian Nobility, June; Babylonish Captivity, October; Christian Liberty, October 15; with letter to the Pope, antedated September 6, by Miltitz's advice.

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Aleander, to the young Emperor, to persuade him to place Luther under the ban of the Empire at the approaching Diet of Worms.

The affairs of Europe, religious and political, were discussed at the Diet of Worms with a twofold result.[1] The Pope made a league with the Emperor for the recovery of Milan, and on the same day was passed the edict of outlawry against Luther. Luther had been summoned to the Diet, and appeared with the Emperor's safe conduct on April 17. Aleander, according to Pallavicino, made a three hours' speech,[2] which produced such an effect that it was decided to summon Luther, not to defend himself, but to answer two questions: 1. Did he write the theses? 2. Did he still maintain them? To the first he answered at once in the affirmative. With regard to the second, he asked for delay, which was granted, and on his return declared his decision to abide by them, even though they were contrary to the Council of Constance. Luther was proclaimed *under the ban of the Empire, May* 8, 1521 (though the decree was actually signed on May 26). He had left the Diet on April 26, the terms of the safe conduct being observed, though there were not wanting those who suggested that the precedent of John Hus's case should be followed, and soon after (May 5) disappeared from the scene, and lived in retirement at the Wartburg, till he was recalled to Wittenberg to control the disturbances of the Zwickau prophets. Meanwhile the political alliance of Pope and Emperor resulted in the recovery of the duchy of Milan. The King of England had come forward to defend the faith. Everything seemed to augur well for Pope Leo, when he was seized by a mortal disease, and died (December 1) without receiving the Sacrament—a crime for which the Roman populace could not pardon him.[3]

[1] Ranke, i. 65.
[2] See Aleander's speech, Pallavicino, I. xxv. 8–29.
[3] See Ranke, i. 67, and epigram.

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LECTURE VII.

POLITICAL COMPLICATIONS (1522–1525).

ON *January* 9, 1522, Adrian, Cardinal of Tortosa, succeeded him, the cardinals in conclave being unable to agree about the election of one of their own number. His short reign of twenty months is significant in the history of the Reformation. His formal protest against papal infallibility, no less than his strenuous attempts to reform the abuses of the papal court, his confession that the present troubles were God's judgment on the sins of the clergy and people, and his almost Puritan attitude towards Renaissance art, made him hated by those who had surrounded his predecessor Leo, though the tremendous weight of prescriptive abuses made all his intended reforms ineffectual.[1] A good instance of this is seen in his attempt to reform the abuse of indulgences.[2]

Adrian's anxiety to co-operate with the desire for reformation led to his sending a nuncio to the *Diet of Nuremberg* (which opened on December 22, 1522), the special object of which was the defence of Hungary against the Turk, and the healing Germany of the disease of Lutheranism. The Emperor was absent in Spain while the Diet met at Nuremberg. To the Estates of the Holy Roman Empire, then, the Pope sent his nuncio, charged to admit the corruptions and abuses in the Roman Church, and to promise reformation,[3] calling on the Diet, at the same time, to carry out the Edict of Worms, which, owing to Charles's absence and the influence of the Elector of Saxony, had become inoperative. The Diet replied by recommending the convocation of a *General Council*, and praying the Pope to satisfy the demands of the secular princes. Till the Council Luther and his followers were not to write or print anything, and the princes were to see that

[1] See Ranke, i. 73; Waterworth, xxxvi. [2] Sarpi, pp. 20–22.
[3] See quotation from Instructions to Chieregato, Ranke, i. 71; and Sarpi, p. 24.

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"the pure gospel" was preached, and Holy Scripture, according to the interpretation received and approved by the Church[1]—a phrase which was variously interpreted. The demands of the secular princes were embodied in the CENTUM GRAVAMINA, which protested against payments for dispensations and absolution, money for indulgences, suits revoked to Rome, reservation of benefices, abuses of *in commendam*, annates, benefit of clergy, excommunication and interdict, mortuary fees, etc., etc.[2] This was sent after the nuncio had returned, and the recess or decree of the Diet was made March 6, 1523. Pope Adrian replied by an indignant letter to the Elector of Saxony;[3] but a few months after he died (September 14, 1523), having done nothing for the world save admitting the abuses which he was powerless to reform. Opinions naturally are divided about him. Sarpi[4] speaks of him as a man of whom the Roman Court was not worthy. Pallavicino[5] calls him the best of priests, but only a moderately good Pope. The Roman people were glad to be rid of so severe a censor, and dedicated "to the saviour of his country" a wreath of flowers, which they hung at the door of his physician.[6]

From the time of Luther's retirement or imprisonment at the Wartburg, the controversy almost ceased *to be a personal* matter between Luther and the Pope. It became a new phase in the struggle for supremacy between the Pope and the Council. The world clamoured for a Council as the true curb to the tyranny of a Pope, and the Pope interposed delays, fearing a repetition of the proceedings at Constance and Basle. The history of the next twenty years is the best commentary on the statement in the Twenty-first Article, that "General Councils may not be gathered together without the commandment and will of Princes" (*Generalia Concilia, sine jussu, et voluntate principum congregari non possunt*). If the Pope happened to be in favour of a Council, the disagreement between Charles and Francis made his wish inoperative. If Charles was in favour, Francis was against it; and even when the three great potentates seemed to be

[1] Pallavicino, II. viii. 6. [2] Sarpi, p. 27. [3] *q.v.* ap. D'Aubigné, iii. 180.
[4] Page 28. [5] II. ix. 1. [6] D'Aubigné, iii. 195.

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agreed, dissension was secretly sown by one or other. The Pope oscillated between the alliance of the Most Christian King and the Emperor. Charles found, as Maximilian had suggested, that Luther was a useful tool to play off against the Pope. Francis feared too close a union between his rival and the Pope, became suddenly zealous for the extirpation of heresy, and reminded the Pope of his imprisonment by the Emperor. It is difficult to explain the part played by these princes without following step by step the complications of European politics, but the general principles which actuated each are fairly certain. *Clement VII. from beginning to end opposed the Council.* If he seemed to favour it, it was under external pressure, which led him to temporize while secretly he worked against it. There was, however, one thing which the Pope feared more than a General Council, and that was a national synod. Why? *Charles* probably would have crushed Lutheranism, if he could; but it had taken too firm a hold of Germany, and the general desire for a Council was not to be resisted. This is clear from the Diet of Nuremberg, which took place while Charles was absent in Spain. *Francis* had no love for the Lutheran heresy, but it offered a convenient distraction to his rival Charles, and destroyed the unity of Germany. Neither dared, by espousing the cause of the Lutherans, to drive his rival into the arms of the Pope, and the Pope was too cautious to allow them to combine against him.

Giulio de Medici, cousin of Leo X., succeeded Adrian under the title of Clement VII. (November 19, 1523–September 25, 1534). The ten years during which he reigned served to distinguish him as "the most ill-fated pontiff that ever sat on the papal throne."[1] A new session of the Diet took place at *Nuremberg in January*, 1524, and Cardinal Campeggio was chosen as the papal legate, with instructions to dissimulate with regard to the CENTUM GRAVAMINA,[2] and speak of it as a thing only informally known to the Pope,[3]

[1] Ranke, i. 87.

[2] See Pallavicino, II. x. 9.

[3] "*Legato demandatum fuit, ut de illo tanquam de re privatim Pontifici cognitâ loqueretur, patefactâ postulatorum iniquitate*" (*ibid.*, II. x. 10).

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while at the same time he should profess himself ready for a real reform. The Diet, however, were not to be put off in this way. They formulated a decree which, before it was published, was shown to the legate. In obedience to the message sent from Spain by Charles by his ambassador Hannart, they consented that the Edict of Worms should be carried out as far as possible, and that the printers should be forbidden to publish or print infamous books; but they demanded as soon as possible a free Council, to be held in Germany. Besides this, an assembly[1] was summoned to meet at Spires on November 11, to discuss the Hundred Grievances, and in the mean while the princes were to get learned men to weigh the Articles of Religion now brought into controversy in preparation for the Œcumenical Council. In spite of the remonstrances of Campeggio, who pointed out that this was no time for a Council, when the Emperor and the king were at war, and as for the assembly, wherever held, it had no jurisdiction in matters of religion, this decree was promulgated on *April* 18, 1524. The legate reported the news to Rome, where discussions were held as to the "Centum Gravamina" and the proposed Conciliabulum at Spires. Meanwhile Campeggio summoned the electors and bishops to a *conference at Ratisbon.* There were present Archduke Ferdinand, the Dukes of Bavaria, Archbishop of Salzburg, the Bishops of Trent and Ratisbon, together with the deputies of the Bishops of Spires, Bamberg, Augsburg, Strasburg, Basle, Constance, Freisingen, Passau, and Brixen.[2] The conference, which lasted fifteen days, agreed not only on the extirpation of Lutheranism, but on thirty-five heads of reformation (Edict, July 6, 1524).[3] This RATISBON LEAGUE was the prototype of the LEAGUE OF SCHMALKALD of a few years later. The threatened Conciliabulum was haughtily forbidden by Charles

[1] [For a full account of the nature and object of this Conciliabulum, see Julius Weizsäcker's lecture in Von Sybel's "Historische Zeitschrift," 1890, pp. 199–215.]

[2] Pallavicino, II. xi. 1.

[3] See Waterworth, p. xxxviii.; Pallavicino, II. xi.; [and an excellent essay by Walter Friedensburg in "Historische Aufsätze dem Andenken an Georg Waitz gewidmet," pp. 502–539.]

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in an edict issued [at Burgos] in Castile, July 15,[1] and the princes were called to join with the Ratisbon League in enforcing the Edict of Worms.

Meanwhile Protestantism divided into two opposite camps under the leadership of *Luther* and *Carlstadt*.[2] (Discussion at Jena, August 21, 1524.) Its patron, the Elector of Saxony, died May 5, 1525. Religious fanaticism, leagued with antinomianism, burst out into the *Peasant War* (1524-5).

A Diet had been summoned to meet at Augsburg in November, 1525, and had been adjourned to June, 1526, when it was to meet at Spiers. Charles, by the unexpected VICTORY AT PAVIA (February 24, 1525), was supreme in Europe.

LECTURE VIII.

DISINTEGRATION OF THE NON-CATHOLIC PARTY.

[In the original manuscript this lecture consists of little more than headings, which have now been slightly expanded from pupils' note-books.]

ON Luther's retirement to the Wartburg his place was taken by Melanchthon, who was soon after joined by *John Bugenhagen* of Pomerania, *John Agricola* from Eisleben, and *Justus Jonas.* The Wittenbergers clamoured for the abolition of monasticism and the transformation of the Mass.

The extreme school found champions in *Carlstadt* and *Gabriel Zwilling*, 1522.[3]

(Luther meanwhile occupied on translation of Bible.)

Luther *v.* Carlstadt.[4]

The Zwickau prophets,[5] particularly Münzer. They carried out Luther's teaching into Antinomianism. The doctrine of justification by faith was made to include an indifference to morality.

[1] D'Aubigné, iii. 205; Pallavicino, II. xii. 3.

[2] Köstlin, p. 310.

[3] For Carlstadt's programme, see *ibid*, p. 256, etc. [Wanted to make all marry, and allowed only twelve communicants at a time.]

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 266, 267.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 268.

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Luther in Wittenberg, March, 1522.

Opposes (α) Carlstadt, (β) prophets.[1]

(Controversy with Erasmus on Free-will, September, 1524.)

Alliance between Carlstadt and the prophets—result, an open denial of any Presence in the Sacrament, free criticism, and advocacy of polygamy.[2] "Neighbour Andrew" is Carlstadt's nickname, because he lived as a peasant.

Discussion at Jena, August 21, 1524. Luther *v.* Carlstadt.

Münzer = Satan of Allstedt.[3]

The "Bundschuh," 1524.[4] Agrarian as well as religious movement.

Münzer's army of 81,000 routed at Frankenhausen, May 15, 1525. Münzer executed.

How far was Luther responsible?[5] Had he put forth principles which would work out to this logical result? In a way he had set forth such principles. The beginning of criticism was his. He discarded the Epistle of St. James, for instance, because he did not like it. Thus his protest was so unguarded as to give an opening to Antinomianism. The result was a great scandal.

Death of Elector Frederick the Wise, May 5, 1525.

Luther's marriage, June 13, 1525.

All this had served not only to weaken the Lutheran party, but to prejudice men against the Reformation. On the other hand, the Ratisbon League consolidated the Catholics. A Diet which was to have met at Augsburg in November, 1525, was postponed owing to the war between Charles and Francis. By the unexpected *victory of Pavia,* February 24, 1525, Charles became supreme in Europe, Francis his prisoner, the Pope his ally, and everything ready for the extermination of Protestantism.

[1] Köstlin, pp. 274, 275.

[2] *Ibid.*, p. 304.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 309.

[4] *Ibid.*, pp. 316–318.

[5] *Ibid.*, p. 522. [On the Peasant War see Ranke's "Reformation in Germany," bk. iii. ch. vi.; ch. iv. of Mr. Seebohm's "Era of the Protestant Revolution," in the "Epochs of Modern History;" and Mr. Oman's article in No. 17—January, 1890—of the *English Historical Review.*]

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LECTURE IX.

CRYSTALLIZATION OF PROTESTANT DOCTRINE, 1526–1530.

AT the moment when everything seemed prepared for the destruction of Protestantism, the whole aspect of European politics changed. Jealousy of Charles's growing power, and the fear of Spanish influence in Lombardy, together with a hope of giving a national unity to Italy, led the Pope secretly to form what is known as the *Holy League* (*Confœderatio atque Sanctissimum Fœdus*) which was subscribed at Cognac (May 22, 1526). The imprisoned Francis, Henry of England, Venice, Milan, and the Republic of Florence, were united to preserve the balance of power in Europe. At the very time when Charles was putting pressure upon the Diet, which met at Spires, June 25, 1526, to carry out the Edict of Worms, rumours were heard that the Pope was at variance with the Emperor, and meditating a league with Francis. The first result was a change in Charles's attitude towards the Lutherans, whom it seemed safer to conciliate. The Diet,[1] instead of carrying out the Edict of Worms, passed a *decree of toleration* till the proposed Council. "*The legal existence of the Protestant party in the Empire is based on the decree of Spires.*"[2] Two letters of the Pope, dated June 23 and 25, 1526, were sent into Spain to Charles, and answered by him three months later, September 17 and 18; but no terms could be agreed on,[3] and the Emperor determined to avenge himself on his treacherous ally. The dreary story of the SACK OF

[1] [See the elaborate history of this Diet by Friedensburg.]

[2] Ranke, i. 80. Luther's Order of Divine Service dates from 1526 (Köstlin, p. 348). The German Mass had been introduced on the Twentieth Sunday after Trinity, 1525. See his three methods of celebrating the Mass (ap. Hagenbach, ii. 10-12)—Latin, German, Esoteric (Köstlin, p. 369). 1528, Visitation of the Churches of Saxony by *superintendents* (*ibid.*, p. 366). Luther's Catechisms (*ibid.*, p. 369).

[3] See the letters in summary, ap. Sarpi, pp. 35–38.

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ROME (May 6–16, 1527) by the barbarian horde of Fründsbërg and the Spaniards, under the Constable of Bourbon, fills the early part of the year 1527, while the Pope's six months' imprisonment carries us on to *November*, 1527, during which the question of Henry's divorce first becomes prominent at Rome. A peace between the Emperor and the Pope was arranged on *November* 26, the Emperor having repudiated all part in the sack of Rome, and professing to honour him as his father; nevertheless he annexed hard conditions to his release,[1] and insisted not only on the cession of certain towns and the giving of hostages, but also on *the summoning of a Council,* in a regular way and at a proper place, and as speedily as possible.[2] The Pope's only hope was in Charles, whose power in Italy rapidly increased. By his aid the Medici were restored to Florence, and Clement proposed to retire from temporal matters and concern himself with spiritual things only. But the Emperor and the Papacy were once more united, and the basis of their union was the extinction of heresy.

Charles, now that he had made up his enmity with the Pope, oscillated back to his natural attitude with regard to Lutheranism, from which the treachery of Clement had temporarily driven him. A second Diet at Spires was summoned for February, 1529, but did not meet till March 15. The Emperor, who was at Valladolid, was urgent for the revocation of the Edict of Spires and the enforcing of the Edict of Worms. The Elector of Saxony, on the contrary, wished to maintain the indefinite decree of 1526. A compromise was effected, which recognized the religious *status quo.* Where the Edict of Worms had been received, it was to be continued; where the edict of toleration prevailed, no change was to be made. Stringent measures against the Anabaptists followed. The measure was provisional, and recognized the existing state of things till the Council. It was passed April 23, and published May 6.[3] It was against this policy that (on April 19) the Elector of Saxony, with George Elector of Brandenburg, Ernest and Francis the two Dukes of Luxemburg

[1] Sarpi, p. 42. [2] Pallavicino, II. xiv. 14.
[3] See it *ibid.*, II. xviii. 2.

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Philip the Landgrave of Hesse, and Wolfgang Prince of Anhalt, and the deputies of fourteen cities of the empire (viz. Strasburg, Nuremberg, Ulm, Constance, Lindau, Memmingen, Kempten, Nördlingen, Heilbronn, Reutlingen, Isny, Weissenburg, Winsheim, and St. Gall[1]) entered their PROTEST,[2] from which they were afterwards called Protestants.[3] (In the December of 1530 a meeting was held at Schmalkald, from which dates the SCHMALKALDIC LEAGUE,[4] which grew out of the earlier League of Torgau, 1526.)

By this time the schism between Luther and Zwingle was daily widening; and in October, 1529, the Protestant Landgrave of Hesse, in attempting a reconciliation, brought about the CONFERENCE OF MARBURG. Luther was attended by Melanchthon, Jonas, Osiander, and Brenz; Zwingle by Œcolampadius, Bucer, and Hedio. The subject of discussion was the Real Presence, which Luther asserted and Zwingle denied. A violent discussion of two days led to no agreement on this point; a general consent on other doctrines was reached, but the schism between the Lutheran, and the "Reformed" remained.[5] While the Protestants were quarrelling, the Pope and the Emperor were cementing their friendship. The coronation of Charles as King of Italy and Emperor of the Romans took place on February 24, 1530, Bologna[6] being chosen as more convenient to the Emperor, perhaps, too, more suitable than the imperial city, which two years before he had sacked. Everything was now ready for the Diet, which was to meet in June, and carry out to the letter the Edict of Worms.

The Diet of Augsburg had been summoned by the Emperor for April 8, but it did not meet till June 20, 1530, when the Emperor, accompanied by the papal legate, Campeggio, and a large retinue of princes, opened it in a speech, which treated of the war with the Turk and the religious troubles of

[1] See Pallavicino, II. xviii. 4. [2] Which see, ap. D'Aubigné, iv. 75, 76.

[3] Which means, says Pallavicino, "*Perduelles in Pontificem ac in Cæsarem,*" II. xviii. 6.

[4] *Ibid.*, II. xviii. 6.

[5] See D'Aubigné's account of the conference, vol. iv. pp. 102–125.

[6] Where the peace had been proclaimed two days before (February 22).

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Germany. The Protestant princes had reached Augsburg more than a month before, and had at once set up preachings, which they refused to discontinue even at the Emperor's command. The time was spent in formulating a Confession of Faith, or apology (known at the time as "Master Philip's Apology"), afterwards known as the AUGSBURG CONFESSION, which was completed on May 11. It was mainly the work of the conciliatory and scholarly Melanchthon, and was accepted by Luther without correction, though the spirit that breathed in it was not his own.[1] On the arrival of Charles, the first thing was to stop the preachings. But here great opposition arose from the Protestant princes, and Charles's end was only gained by a compromise.[2] The princes were equally impracticable about the Corpus Christi procession; and at the Mass of the Holy Ghost, the Elector of Saxony only consented to act as grand marshal on a judicious appeal to the act of Naaman the Syrian.[3]

The policy of the Catholic party was to avoid an open discussion, and secretly to win over the disaffected. With this view Valdez had several interviews with Melanchthon between the arrival of Charles and the formal opening of the Diet. This conference is fully recounted by D'Aubigné, as well as that which followed the Diet. It is difficult to suppose that the author of the Augsburg Confession did not fairly represent the moderate Lutherans, and it is rather startling to find Lutheranism reduced *to three points*—the giving of *the cup to the laity*, *marriage of priests*, and *abolition of private Masses*.[4] There is not a word about justification by faith, or about papal claims. "We do not attack the Catholic Church, as is commonly thought. . . . If we could come to terms on these three points, it would be easy to come to an understanding on the others." It was a strange anticipation of the Conference of Ratisbon, in which Contarini was papal legate, in 1541. Valdez reported progress to Campeggio, who was willing to concede two out of the three points. The abolition of private

[1] Cf. Köstlin, p. 411, "I cannot walk so meekly and so silently."
[2] See D'Aubigné, iv. 196. [3] Ranke's "Reformation," iii. 267.
[4] See D'Aubigné, iv. 208.

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Masses they could not consent to. Still Melanchthon was anxious to avoid a final schism, but the secular princes interposed, and insisted that the Apology should be presented at the Diet. It was signed by all the Protestant princes, though the Landgrave of Hesse objected to the article on the Sacrament; but of the fourteen cities who had joined the protest at Spires, only Nuremberg and Reutlingen signed. The Tetrapolitan Confession[1] (from the cities of Strasburg, Constance, Memmingen, and Lindau), the work of Bucer, was presented, but not read. It agreed generally with the Augsburg Confession, but spoke more hesitatingly as to the Presence in the Sacrament. Zwingle sent his Confession, or *Fidei Ratio*, to Charles. Melanchthon still hoped for peace, and the Zwinglians declared that Luther had qualified one-half of the gospel, and Melanchthon was conceding the rest.[2] Charles refused to allow the Apology to be publicly read, but consented to hear it at the bishop's palace. On June 25 it was read before two hundred people. In this remarkable document it is, for the present, sufficient to notice:[3] (α) the appeal to a Council in the preamble; (β) the profession of faith; and (γ) the abuses to be corrected. (α) With regard *to the Council*, the Emperor is reminded of his promise made at the first Diet of Spires, and repeated in 1529, to use his influence with the Pope for securing a General Council; and the petitioners promise, in the event of matters not being arranged at the Diet of Augsburg, to appear and plead before a General Council, to which they now appeal, protesting that it is their solemn determination to abide by this appeal unless Christian concord shall be restored in the Diet. (β) The Confession of Faith is arranged under twenty-one heads, in which the distinctive tenets of the Lutherans are expressed in conciliatory terms, the most polemical being Art. XX., "*De Bonis Operibus*," in which the Romanists are accused of teaching "*puerilia et non necessaria opera*," such as fasts and festivals, guilds, processions, worshipping of saints, rosaries, monastic vows, and such like; yet this part of the Apology closes with an avowal of ortho-

[1] See Köstlin, p. 425.
[2] D'Aubigné, iv. 214.
[3] The Confession is analyzed in Hardwick's "History of the Articles."

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doxy. "We hold no doctrine opposed to Scripture or to the Church Catholic, nor to the Roman Church, as far as it is known by its writers (*quatenus ex Scriptoribus nota est*). To reject us, therefore, as heretics, is a harsh judgment. Our disagreement is only with certain abuses, which without certain authority have crept into the Church."[1] (γ) Then follow seven articles, in which certain new abuses are reviewed (*in quibus recensentur abusus mutati*). These are entitled: 1. Communion under both kinds. 2. Marriage of priests. 3. The Mass. 4. Confession. 5. Distinction of meats. 6. Monastic vows. 7. Ecclesiastical power.

A refutation of the Confession was entrusted to Cochlæus, Faber, and Eck, and meanwhile Melanchthon ("*tam pacis cupidus quam Lutherus certaminis*," says Pallavicino) reduced the Confession to its minimum. Two things only he now requires—the cup for the laity, and marriage for priests. "There is no doctrine in which we differ from the Roman Church. . . . We are ready to obey the Roman Church, if only she will wink at certain things which we cannot change."[2] Nor was this Confession altogether inconsistent with the Twenty-one Articles, for of these it was found that the Catholics could accept fifteen entirely, three in part, while on three only of the attack upon Roman abuses the Catholics and Protestants were at issue. This approximation was the result of a mixed commission, issued August 16, appointed after the Catholic refutation had been read (August 3) and rejected by the Protestants. The commission consisted of two princes, two lawyers, and three theologians on each side.[3] On the Catholic side were Duke Henry of Brunswick, the Bishop of Augsburg, the Chancellors of Baden and Cologne, with Eck, Cochlæus, and Wimpina; on the side of the Lutherans were the Margrave George of Brandenburg, the Electoral Prince of Saxony, Chancellors Brück (Pontanus) and Heller, with Melanchthon, Brenz, and Schnepff. They discussed the Con-

[1] Waterworth, xlvi., xlvii.

[2] See the whole passage in Pallavicino, II. iv. 4; Waterworth, xlviii.; D'Aubigné, iv. 258.

[3] Ranke, "Reformation," iii. 306 *sqq*.

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fession article by article, and only on *three* did they fail to come to terms—Penance, Invocation of saints, and Justification by faith only.[1] On the "abuses" there was necessarily less of accord. Duke George was thought to be a disturbing cause, and a new commission of six only was appointed—Eck and the two chancellors, against Melanchthon and his two chancellors. Still three points could not be got over—Satisfaction as a part of penance, Faith only, and Private Masses—and the colloquy terminated without result on August 30. As a last resort Charles promised definitely to get the Pope to summon a Council if the recalcitrants would return to their obedience. It was too late. Luther had been writing violent letters, forbidding any concession, and charging his followers to leave Augsburg. Charles, hopeless of reconciliation, now (October 4) wrote to Rome, declaring that negotiations were at an end, and praying the Pope to support him in a crusade against the heretics. On October 13 the recess of September 22 was read to the Romish, and a month later (November 11), to the Protestant deputies, who rejected it the next day, and on the 22nd it was published, and Charles prepared to execute it on all who did not return to the Roman Obedience by April 15, 1531.

Yet one thing had been secured—it had been definitely promised to hold a Council in six months' time, or at least within a year. Clement VII. had yielded, or at least seemed to yield, but the fear of a Council in Rome itself is shown by the fact that all the saleable offices of the court decreased in value.[2] Clement had his own reasons for dreading a Council. There was a doubt about his legitimacy, more than a doubt about the means by which he attained the papal throne; and he was far-sighted enough to be sure that those who criticized the Council of Constance and openly denied the papal supremacy would hardly submit to a new Council, to be summoned by him to discuss a heresy already condemned. But Clement had his own schemes for deferring the Council. First Rome was proposed, then Bologna, Placentia, Mantua;

[1] See D'Aubigné, iv. 300.
[2] Ranke, "Popes," i. 87; D'Aubigné, iv. 319.

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while a stipulation was made that all the Christian princes should be agreed about it, and that the Protestants should first submit, and both conditions were impracticable. When, however, the Emperor refuses to be put off in this way, we shall find the Pope throwing himself once more into the arms of Francis. The real cause of this was Charles's demand for a Council.[1]

According to Pallavicino, everybody feared a Council except the Pope. The Lutherans knew they would be proscribed; the laymen knew that restitution would be necessary; and when at the Diet of Worms the nuncio pretended that he had been ordered to summon a Council, a mournful silence fell upon every one ("*confestim cuncti mæsto silentio conticuerunt*").[2] Some Catholics wished for it because they saw through the artifice of the heretics, or because they wished the Lutherans to have no ground of excuse; but the wiser knew it would be of no avail to bring back the Protestants.

According to Sarpi,[3] the very name of "council" was hated by Pope and Curia, while the Protestants and Moderates looked forward to it as the only remedy.

Looking back over the nine years which had passed since the Diet of Worms, we are able to trace the rapid growth and consolidation of the Reformation movement. At Worms (1521) Luther stood alone, and was declared an outlaw. But the personal passed soon into a political phase. At the first Diet of Spires (1526) a temporary measure of toleration was secured. Three years later (1529) the attempt to revoke this edict led to the Protest, and indirectly to the League of Schmalkald, while at the Diet of Augsburg (1530) Germany was divided into two parties, irreconcilably opposed and ready for war. Charles's attitude, except when for a moment he was driven into war with the Pope, was consistent throughout. His first thought was to stamp out the heresy; then, when he found that this meant nothing short of civil war, he tried every means of conciliation; and only when this was impossible

[1] Ranke, "Popes," i. 90. [2] Pallavicino, III. v. 1. [3] Page 54.

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did he publish the Recess of Augsburg. The German princes, by the practical secession of the Protestants, were united, and went far beyond Charles in the desire to exterminate Lutheranism, even at the cost of a civil war; and the Emperor, who, at the opening of the Diet of Augsburg, took upon himself the character of arbitrator, soon found himself forced to act as persecutor.

LECTURE X.

ZWINGLI AND ZWINGLIANISM (1517–1531).

(*Guardian*, February 27, 1884.)

WE live in an age of commemorations. The Luther Committee is not to disperse till it has organized a festival in honour of the five hundredth anniversary of Wiclif's death. Meanwhile Switzerland has been holding its own festival. On the day when the Western Church was celebrating the Feast of the Epiphany, the Swiss were rejoicing over the four hundredth anniversary of the birth of Ulrich Zwingli. English Puritans, within and without the Church, seem strangely forgetful of their great Father. And yet Puritanism owes infinitely more to Zwingli than to Luther, or even to Calvin. And the early Puritans knew it. If the English Church had been destroyed, as it nearly was, in the latter part of Edward VI.'s reign, and had become a Protestant sect, there is not a shadow of doubt that it would have symbolized with Zürich, and not with Wittenberg; and when the exiles returned in the early days of Elizabeth, it was Zürich around which their fondest memories clung, and Zwingli's successor, to whom all through the Vestiarian controversy they looked up for guidance. "O Zürich! Zürich!" exclaims John Jewel, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, "how much oftener do I now think of thee than ever I thought of England when I was at Zürich!" People who write history *à priori*, and they are many, argue from this, in defiance of the facts, that the English Church is

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Zwinglian, though the distinctive doctrines of Zwinglianism are condemned in the Thirty-nine Articles, and the Puritans, who were Zwinglians, left the Church because they could not reconcile the two.

History shows us that the Protestant Reformation on the Continent from the very first followed two lines, which, while they sometimes approximated and sometimes diverged, started from different points, and never met. At the starting-point of one line stands Martin Luther; at the starting-point of the other, Ulrich Zwingli. What their relation to one another was we shall attempt to show. For the present it is enough to notice what they had in common, and what was the crucial point on which they differed. Both appealed to Holy Scripture against the abuses of the day, and the sanction which the Church seemed to give to them. Both assumed the right of private judgment in interpreting the Word of God. But their private judgments did not always agree. And when the two champions met, they were found to be diametrically opposed on the subject of the Real Presence. Luther affirmed it; Zwingli denied it; and both parties took the letter of the Bible "to be for them." According to the delightfully *naïve* reasoning of his Majesty's Declaration, prefixed to the Thirty-nine Articles, this ought to have been an argument that both did "agree in the true, usual, literal meaning" of the disputed words. But people generally thought otherwise. The Protestant world thus fell into two divisions on the Eucharistic question—the Saxons in the main following Luther; the Swiss, Zwingli. After Zwingli's death, by the efforts of Bullinger and Bucer, the two schools for a moment accepted the superficial Concord of Wittenberg (1536). But they were never really agreed. And in that very year a book appeared which was to separate the German-speaking and the French-speaking Swiss. This book was the "Institutes of the Christian Religion," by John Calvin. From this point, therefore, we get three groups of Protestants—the Lutherans, the Zwinglians, and the Calvinists. Bucer and the Strasburgers were always trying to mediate. They had first signed the Tetrapolitan Confession, then been admitted to the Schmalkaldic

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League, on the understanding that they agreed generally with the Augsburg Confession; and finally they had joined Basle and Zürich in the Second Confession of Basle, better known as the First Helvetic Confession. But the Augsburg Interim came, and Bucer had to say plainly whether he would accept the Confession of Augsburg or no. He refused, and fled to England, where he was made Regius Professor at Cambridge. The gentle and peace-loving Melanchthon was also trying to mediate. He had already recast the Confession of Augsburg under the name of "Confessio Variata," in 1540, in order to meet the sacramental views of the Swiss; and when Luther died [two years] before the Interim, the prospect of reconciliation looked hopeful, especially since Calvin on the sacramental question had, without accepting a Real Presence, invented a theory which made it possible to use language which could be accepted by those who did. But the result of such efforts was only to secure for Melanchthon the title of "Crypto-Calvinist," while the union of Saxon and Swiss was as far off as ever. The *Consensus Tigurinus* [of Zürich] united the Zwinglian and Calvinist parties in spite of their minor differences, and when the Formula of Concord, in 1577, did for the Saxons what the Consensus of Zürich, in 1549, had done for the Swiss, the breach between the Lutheran and the Reformed was complete.

Few people can doubt on which side of the gulf which separates the Swiss from the Saxon Reformation we are to look for the Puritanism of to-day. The most devout English admirer of Luther apologizes for Luther's views of the Real Presence — in other words, he symbolizes with Luther's enemies precisely on that point on which they were most opposed to him. The bare, gaunt, dreary terminology, which we commonly associate with a Zwinglian view of the Sacraments, finds, perhaps, few supporters. Indeed, many Puritans will accept the language of our Articles, which condemn Zwingli's views, but it is because they have adopted the theory in its less frigid Calvinistic dress, with or without the revolting views on predestination for which Calvin is best known.

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Huldreich, or Ulrich Zwingli, the hero of the Swiss Reformation, was born on January 1, 1484, and was thus only seven weeks younger than Luther. His uncle, the Dean of Wesen, soon discovered that he had remarkable abilities, and sent him to study at Basle, and afterwards at Berne. Later on, to prevent his joining the Dominicans at Berne, he was sent to Vienna, whence, after two years' study of the Scholastic philosophy, he returned to Basle. It was at Basle, under the guidance of Thomas Wyttenbach, that Zwingli learned to make the Bible his final court of appeal, as well as his *summa theologiæ*. In 1512 he received the degree of Master of Arts, and shortly afterwards, having been ordained to the priesthood, he settled in Glarus, where two years later we find him in close intercourse with that "greatest of philosophers and theologians," Erasmus.[1] Zwingli left Glarus for Einsiedeln early in 1516. He had enemies there who, for political purposes, seem to have brought against him charges of immorality, which even his friend and disciple, Bullinger, cannot altogether deny. Be that as it may, Zwingli had no sooner exchanged Glarus for Einsiedeln than he appears as a reformer of abuses. In a spirit as fearless and far less self-assertive than Martin Luther, he brings everything to the test of Holy Scripture, of which he had learned the New Testament by heart. He was doing the work of reformation before any one had heard of Martin Luther. On his thirty-sixth birthday, January 1, 1519, Ulrich Zwingli became priest of Zürich.[2] The story of Samson, the indulgence-vendor, the Tetzel of Switzerland, is well known; but it is not so well known that Zwingli had spoilt Samson's trade from the first by his preaching against indulgences both at Einsiedeln and Zürich. When the aged Dean Bullinger, the father of Zwingli's successor, brought the matter before the Diet of Zürich, Samson

[1] [The dates given in this last paragraph are taken from Hagenbach, i. 234. All recent Swiss writers are unanimous in stating that, after taking his degree, Zwingli accepted a cure at Glarus, in 1506, served as army chaplain in 1512 and 1515, during the campaigns of the Swiss in Milan, and in 1516 settled down at Einsiedeln.]

[2] [Properly preacher attached to the Collegiate Church of SS. Felix and Regula at Zürich, commonly called the Gross Münster.]

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was compelled to leave the city. But it was Zwingli who had educated men's minds and prepared the way for such a result. The next year the Council of Zürich issued a mandate that all pastors should preach on the New Testament, and prove their doctrine from the Bible alone. While Luther was protesting and appealing to the nobles, Zwingli was teaching his people and "reforming" the Church. For all this happened before Luther had burned the Pope's bull. The abolition of the abuses of the Mass, Communion in both kinds, destruction of images, followed, with the full support of the government and little effective opposition from the bishop. Altars were soon exchanged for tables; cakes of unleavened bread and cups of wine were passed round in a common meal, which took the place of the Mass; while a new Liturgy in accordance with Zwingli's views was constructed. Far and wide in Switzerland the new doctrines spread. Monasteries and nunneries were deserted; relics were destroyed; the celibacy of the clergy was declared unscriptural; and Zwingli, in 1524, a full year before Martin Luther, turned his theory into practice by marrying Anna Reinhart, the beautiful widow of John Meier von Knonau. The next year witnessed the Peasant War in Germany and Switzerland, and the first collisions between the Saxon and the Swiss Reformers on the sacramental question. Anabaptism, too, found its way to Switzerland. The fanatical iconoclasts not only broke down altars and images, but parodied the Sacraments of Holy Baptism and the Eucharist. The questioning of the authority for infant baptism followed naturally from the appeal of Zwingli and Luther to the letter of the Bible, and Zwingli, on the subject of the necessary Sacraments, was more defiant than Luther. Still, Zwingli defended infant baptism, and called the Anabaptists "refractory blockheads." This having no effect, the government took the matter up, and used the more powerful weapons of imprisonment and exile. Meanwhile, Switzerland was rapidly falling into two parties—the Evangelicals, with Zürich at their head; and the Catholic cantons of Uri, Schwytz, Unterwalden, Zug, and Lucerne. Zwingli urged the government of Zürich to war, but a tem-

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porary peace was arranged on June 26, 1529, on condition that the alliance between Austria and the Catholic cantons was dissolved. Then the Eucharistic controversy between Luther and Zwingli broke out with renewed violence. The Marburg Conference did nothing but bring out the coarser side of Luther's polemics, and the more Christian spirit of Ulrich Zwingli. Then came the Diet of Augsburg, to which "Master Philip's Apology," better known as the Augsburg Confession, was presented, while Zwingli also addressed to the Emperor Charles his *Fidei Ratio*. By this time Switzerland was on the eve of war. The peace of 1529 was not likely to be lasting, and the death of the Abbot of St. Gall was the occasion of renewed hostilities. The Evangelical cantons wished the abbey suppressed; the Catholics demanded the appointment of a new abbot. War was declared by the Evangelicals intercepting supplies. The five cantons took the field with eight thousand men, and the Zürichers went to meet them, with Zwingli at their head. On October 11, 1531, the battle of Kappel was fought, and won by the Catholics, and Zwingli was among the slain. He had been wounded by a stone, and a Catholic of Unterwalden having found him, exhorted him to see a priest, and call upon the saints, and, when he refused, beat him to death with his axe. His body was afterwards quartered and burned by the executioner of Lucerne.

If now we ask what was the place of Zwingli in ecclesiastical history, the first thing which strikes us is that he was the *precursor*, not the follower, of Martin Luther. Those who insist on identifying Luther with the Reformation, wherever and in whatever form it appears, will, of course, not be convinced; but for others it is interesting to record Zwingli's own words, as quoted by Dr. Hagenbach[1]:—

"In the year 1516, before a man in our neighbourhood knew of Luther's name, I began to preach the gospel of Christ. Who called me a Lutheran then? . . . I was ignorant of Luther's name for two years after I had made the Bible my sole treasury. . . . No man can esteem Luther

[1] [i. 244, 245.]

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more highly than I. Nevertheless, I testify before God and all mankind that I never in all my days wrote a syllable to him, nor he to me, nor have I caused any other to write for me. I have avoided doing so, not because I was afraid, but because I desired to show to all men the uniformity of the Spirit of God, as manifested in the fact that we, who are so far apart, are in unison one with the other, yet without collusion and without my deriving what I preach from him, for every man does according as he has received from God."

A comparison of two men who had so much in common that the one is supposed to have derived his teaching from the other, and who yet had nothing to do with one another till they met to disagree, can hardly be without interest, especially when both were remarkable men and exercised so strong an influence upon the religious history of their respective nations. Both gathered round them men of distinction and learning. If Luther had his Melanchthon, his Bugenhagen, his Justus Jonas, Zwingli had his Œcolampadius, his Myconius, his Leo Juda. But the leaders were cast in different moulds. Their national character, no less than their previous history, had its influence, as Dr. Hagenbach[1] points out, on their theology. "Luther was a thoroughly *Germanic* nature; he was a son of Thuringia. Zwingli was a genuine *Switzer*, a son of the Alps." Though Luther was a miner's son, his surroundings were monarchical, while Zwingli was the son of a republic, and breathed the air of freedom. Luther, again, had studied in monkish seclusion, Zwingli was the secular priest. Even in their studies the men were widely different. Luther turned to St. Augustine and the mystics; Zwingli had felt the Humanistic impulse and loved the classics. In a matter of exegesis Luther was, therefore, no match for Zwingli. It was characteristic of Luther that at the Conference of Marburg he wrote upon the table the words "HOC EST CORPUS MEUM," and pointed to it as his final answer to Zwingli, when the whole discussion turned upon the question whether "EST" was used in its literal sense or no. Zwingli's Humanism, in contrast with the narrowness of Luther, while it offered many

[1] [i. 355.]

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points of contact with the learned Erasmus, and gave him considerable advantage in exegesis over the Wittenberg Reformer, also prejudiced him in favour of a liberal, we had almost said a Christian, view of the heathen world, which shocked the more contracted views of German Protestantism. Thus in his little treatise called "A Brief and Clear Exposition of the Christian Faith," dedicated to King Francis I., when speaking of eternal life, he mentions among the blessed dead, not only the saints of the old and new covenants, and the ancestors of the king back through St. Louis to the days of the Pippins, but Hercules, Theseus, Socrates, Aristides, Antigonus, Numa, Camillus, the Catos, and the Scipios. "No upright man," he says, "has ever lived, no pious heart, no faithful soul has ever existed, from the beginning to the end of the world, whom thou wilt not see yonder in the presence of God."[1] This is worthy of St. Paul or St. Clement, but it breathes a different spirit from that of Luther.

Few people now study theology as a science, and therefore doctrinal aberrations are merely catalogued, instead of being traced back to a principle. And yet the errors of Zwingli, no less than those of Luther, are capable of a scientific determination, which is rarely given to them. It is, indeed, sometimes said that, though both Zwingli and Luther held the doctrine of justification by faith, and the absolute supremacy of Holy Scripture irrespective of Church authority, the difference between the two men and the two schools may be found in this—that these truths were put in a different order. With Luther the doctrine of justification, as he had realized it in his own spiritual history, was the fixed point from which he criticized even the Bible; with Zwingli the Bible came first, and, therefore, we never find the same disproportion between faith and works as we do in Luther. According to this theory, Zwingli's tendency to refer everything to the letter of the Bible is appealed to in explanation of his *legalism*, and his opposition to heathen lawlessness rather than to Judaic formalism, which has led one of his Swiss admirers to say that if Luther was like the Apostle Paul, Zwingli was

[1] [Hagenbach, ii. 171, 172.]

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like "honest James." About the legalism of the Swiss school there is no doubt. Thus, while the Augsburg Confession deals very freely with the Christian Sunday, and speaks of it, not as a renewal of the Old Testament sabbath, but as a convenient arrangement for public worship which nobody supposes to be *necessary*, English sabbatarianism comes from Zwingli, through Calvin, who exaggerated the craving of Zwingli after an Old Testament legalism. The same tendency, emphasized, no doubt, by Calvin's legal mind, will of course explain, what is otherwise so difficult to reconcile with their defiance of Church authority, the tremendous *discipline* of Puritanism, whether as seen at Zürich and Geneva, or in the English Puritans of Hooker's day, or in the rigid Church system of Scotch Presbyterianism. However we may account for it, there is an Old Testament atmosphere around Zwinglian and Calvinistic theology which is not found in Lutheranism, and devotion to the letter of the Bible is not enough to explain it. Nor are we, by the help of this theory, any nearer understanding why it was that Calvinism, with its awful and anti-Christian doctrine of predestination, developed itself on the basis of Zwinglianism and not on that of Lutheranism, though both Zwingli and Luther agreed in denying the freedom of the will.

We must look deeper for the principles which worked themselves out in Saxon and Swiss Protestantism; and we shall find that Zwingli, no less than Luther, had seized a truth in the light of which he interpreted the Bible, and to which everything else was compelled to bend. That principle Calvin took up and carried on; and as Luther found fault with the sacred writers whose utterances failed to fit in with his view of justification, so did Zwingli, and Calvin even more consistently than Zwingli, explain away all that seemed to limit or condition the truth on which they built.

At the close of the celebrated Marburg Conference, Zwingli held out his hand to Luther, in token that brotherly love was greater than theological differences; and Luther refused it with the words, "Ihr habt einen andern Geist als wir"— "You are of a different spirit from us." It was true in the

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sense in which Luther meant it, but it had a deeper meaning. For, if we may put in sharp contrast the principles from which Luther and Zwingli started, and from which their theology was developed, we should say—The be-all and end-all of Luther's theology was *the absolute freedom of God's gift of grace in Christ Jesus;* that of Zwingli was *the absolute and unlimited sovereignty of God.* Both were true when conditioning one another, both found ample justification in the inspired Word of God; taken separately, both were developed into heresy.

This dominant thought of the absolute monarchy of God stands in the forefront of all Zwingli's great theological treatises. It is the pivot on which Zwinglian and Calvinistic theology turns. God is One, Omnipotent, Absolute. He is as unknowable to man, except when He condescends to reveal Himself, as "man is to a beetle." This idea of the unapproachableness of God,[1] and His absolute unconditioned power, will explain the peculiar characteristics of the Swiss Reformation. It was *the principle* of Swiss theology. We see in it at once the key to what we have noticed as the *legal* and *Judaic* views of Zwingli and his followers; and the consequences of this legalism we have already traced. It is, at the same time, the safeguard of the Swiss Reformers against that coarse familiarity with God and sacred things which shocks us so in Lutheranism. It explains, too, the prominence of iconoclasm in the early days of the Swiss Reformation, which found an echo in England only when the connection with Zürich was intimate. What indulgences were to Luther, images and even the emblems of the Blessed Virgin and the saints were to Zwingli. If the buying of indulgences was an insult to the freedom of Christ's love, images, or "idols," as Zwingli called them, were an insult to the majesty of the one God. Even Zwingli's views on religious wars may be thus explained. While Luther till his death opposed war as alien from the spirit of Christianity, Zwingli believed it to be his duty to wield "the sword of the Lord and of Gideon." It would be too much, perhaps, to say

[1] [Hagenbach, i. 170; ii. 139.]

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that Zwingli was unsound on the doctrine of the Person of Christ, since he accepted the definitions of the Four Councils, and certainly speaks of Christ as God, though he also uses the more ambiguous phrase, *Dei de Deo Filius.* But it was a true instinct which made Luther distrust Zwingli, and accuse him of stripping the Divinity of the Humanity, and making God put it on or lay it aside "as a peasant does his coat." For Luther had a strong hold on the Incarnation as the central fact of Christianity, and therefore a firm grasp of the reality of sacramental grace, though his theory of the ministry was out of keeping with both. Zwingli, on the other hand, held a Christianity which was on the verge of Unitarianism. Luther said that that "old storm-raiser, Madam Reason" (Anglicè, *rationalism*), was at the bottom of it all. And "Madam Reason" finally had her way, as she was bound to have, when Calvin followed Zwingli, and Servetus had to be burnt for being too logical, and Socinus and Socinianism rose out of his ashes.

A tendency to a Unitarian or Arian Christianity has, as its natural consequence, *an indifference to sacramental media.* Zwingli's sacramental views are, of course, well known, but people forget that such views are an indication of a more deeply seated error. A truer view of the mediation of Christ might have saved Zwingli from his false views of the Sacraments. He is never tired of telling us that Sacraments are external to us. Not only do they not effect forgiveness of sins, they are not even mediatory thereto. They are signs of that which is already given. But *pari ratione* the Incarnation of Jesus Christ should be, not the reconciliation of man with God, but a sign that the reconciliation has been effected. It is noticeable, however, that Zwingli's views on the Holy Eucharist deepen as he goes on. Though to the last he denies the Real Presence, as he did at Marburg, yet in the Confession of Faith presented the year before his death to Charles V. he expresses his belief that to the eye of faith Christ is present. He is now treading close on the heels of Calvin and of the Puritanism of to-day.

The same doctrine of the absolute and unconditional

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sovereignty of God carried with it *the denial of free-will*, with all its terrible consequences. Luther had also by a different route arrived at the same point, but his followers, notably Melanchthon in the Augsburg Confession, recoiled from the results of such teaching. Zwingli never went back, he went forward. For the denial of free-will was, if we may say so, a more essential corollary from his first principle than from Luther's. Luther denied free-will lest it should contribute anything to the work of salvation, and so make the gift of God in Christ dependent, in however slight a degree, on man. Zwingli denied free-will as inconsistent with the idea of God as the one absolute Cause of all things. Calvin only took up Zwingli's last word, and carried out Zwingli's own principle.

The first consequence of the denial of free-will shows itself in theology in *the doctrine of an absolute election and reprobation.* Here Zwingli is absolutely at one with Calvin :—

"They who acknowledge Divine providence," he says, "must, by so doing, recognize election also. . . . Election is nothing else than the present and eternal appointment (of God) concerning those who shall enjoy everlasting happiness. Rejection is the contrary of this. . . . God, who freely determines all things, blesses whom He will—but by Christ, that is by Himself, by His own goodness and grace. For Christ is the pledge of (the Divine) goodness, and the redemption of sins paid to the Divine justice—which must ever be preserved inviolate. . . . Judas and Cain were as much rejected to eternal misery before the foundation of the world, as the Blessed Virgin and the crucified thief were chosen to eternal blessedness."

Later on we are told that Esau could not die in infancy because the Divine providence created him in order that he might live, and live impiously. Calvin can hardly improve on this, either in theory or expression. It mattered nothing to Zwingli that, in his anxiety to guard the absolute power of God, he made God's exercise of it arbitrary and irrational. Yet we find that even Zwingli's charitable view of the heathen world mentioned above is in another passage connected with the absolute will of God. "God's election is free," and His

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power is shown as much in the salvation of the heathen as in that of Christians. Indeed, Zwingli would prefer, he says, to cast in his lot with Socrates and Seneca rather than with a Pope. Charity must have its limits, and Zwingli, like Luther, left the Pope outside.

But this view of the absolute sovereignty of God as excluding free-will had *moral* as well as theological consequences, and Zwingli did not shrink from them. *God being the absolute Author of all things, is the Author of evil*, not as permitting it, but as impelling to it. "It is He who moves the robber to murder one who is innocent, even though he be unprepared to die." It is He who makes Adam disobedient, and the angel a transgressor. The treachery of Judas, like the adultery of David, is as much God's work as the call of St. Paul. But, then, in order to avoid the conclusion that God is therefore immoral, Zwingli strikes at the roots of morality itself, and declares that what is wrong for man is not wrong for God. For God is above law, and where there is no law there is no transgression. The immediate consequence of this is obvious; but the cause was simply the wish to magnify God's power in making right and wrong a matter of *positive* not *natural* distinction. God by His absolute will ordered that certain things, in themselves indifferent, should be right, others wrong. But He was not bound by His own enactments. Therefore He may still do those acts which for men are immoral, and yet He cannot sin. Well might Mr. J. S. Mill, who had known only the God of Zwingli and Calvin, exclaim—

"Whatever power such a being may have over me, there is one thing which he shall not do; he shall not compel me to worship him. I will call no being good, who is not what I mean when I apply that epithet to my fellow-creatures; and if such a being can sentence me to hell for not so calling him, to hell I will go."[1]

It was the noble protest of the moral nature of man against a false and immoral view of God; a grand assertion, as has been pointed out by Mr. St. George Mivart, of the

[1] ["Examination of Sir W. Hamilton's Philosophy," p. 129.]

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absoluteness of morality from the lips of the great Utilitarian. He was working back to the truth, which Zwingli and Calvin forgot, that God cannot sin because He is Immutable Goodness, and not merely uncontrolled and uncontrollable Power.

Those who for good or ill have been leaders of men are more logical than we often think—perhaps more logical than they are themselves aware. What looks like a congeries of opinions, drawn haphazard from different systems, is found, on closer inspection, to have a rational unity. Its parts are not perfectly articulated at first; it needs time for development; and sometimes the founder of the system leaves it to a follower to complete. With Zwingli this was not so. Calvin and Beza added little to Zwingli, though the world knows some of his doctrines only through them. Indeed, Calvin seems to recoil from Zwingli's conclusion that God is the Author of sin, though he holds to the principle from which that conclusion follows. But the Swiss school, as distinguished from the Saxon, from first to last allowed the truth of God's sovereignty to warp their whole theology. God is Almighty, and God is Love. This is the Catholic faith, as it is the teaching of the Bible. Either God is Omnipotent *or* He is All-loving, *but not both.* This is the teaching of heresy. Zwinglianism and Calvinism make Him Omnipotent at the cost of Love. John Stuart Mill and many another, miscalled an atheist, would rather think of Him as Love, though at the sacrifice of His Omnipotence. Both claim the Bible on their side. Is not the corrective of both to be gathered from those wise words which have come down to us from the third century of the Christian era—"Whenever men wish to practise deceit, they amputate the Scriptures; but let them quote Scripture *as a whole*"?

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LECTURE XI.

NEGOTIATIONS FOR A GENERAL COUNCIL (1531–1538).

AT the close of 1530 everything seemed ready for civil war, but Charles still hoped for a more peaceful solution, and again pressed the Pope for a General Council, though the condition imposed, that the Lutherans should first submit, could not be observed. Clement clearly saw that a Council could now effect nothing. The old question of Pope and Council must recur, and unless the supremacy of the Council was admitted, the Lutherans would not consider the Council free. At last, however, the Pope gave way, and consented that a Council should be summoned on the following conditions.[1] (1) That the business should be limited to the raising subsidies against the Turk, and the extinguishing of the Lutheran heresy. Charles objected to the limitation, and hinted that it was unnecessary, as the Pope could always prescribe what should be discussed. (2) The second condition was that the Emperor should be present. (3) That the Council should meet in one of the Italian cities previously proposed. (4) That the precedent of other Councils should be observed, and no laics allowed to vote. (5) And lastly, that the Lutherans should petition for the Council and promise to obey it. This last condition was obviously impossible, and was cancelled. The Emperor's answer is dated October 16, 1530, and the Pope, on December 1, issued a Breve to all the Christian princes, expressing his intention to call a Council.[2]

The Protestants, on the other hand, who had long ceased to hope for a free Council, set about preparing for war, and as a first step the SCHMALKALDIC LEAGUE, which had been projected some time before, was made, December 31, 1530, and finally signed on March 29 following. To this even Zwinglians, who were held to be unsound on the sacramental

[1] Pallavicino, III. v. 11.

[2] Waterworth, lv.

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question, and who, with the Tetrapolitans, had refused to accept the Augsburg Confession, were admitted. Letters proclaiming the desire for a free Council were despatched to Francis and Henry, both of whom were invited to join the league, but contented themselves with returning sympathetic answers. While the Schmalkaldic League was gaining strength, Charles was losing it. The election of his brother Ferdinand, January 5, 1531, as King of the Romans gave the Protestants *a political war-cry*. It was a violation of the Golden Bull, an attempt to make the Empire hereditary. Many of the Roman Catholic princes took offence. Germany was divided against itself. The Turk was again threatening Europe. There was nothing for Charles to do but to conciliate the Protestants, and secure their aid against the Turk, instead of enforcing the Edict of Augsburg. Thus the civil war was averted, except in Switzerland, where, as we have seen, the long-smouldering hatred of the Catholic and Protestant cantons at length broke out into open war.[1]

In Germany, a proposed Diet of Spires, to which Aleander, the papal nuncio to Charles's court, was sent, never met, and was postponed till the spring of 1532, when it was to meet at Ratisbon. The main business of this diet was to get help against the Turk, and to secure the recognition of Ferdinand as King of the Romans. Charles was *baulked in both.* France and England refused aid, while it is said the Protestants threatened to join the Turks. The result was the PEACE OF NUREMBERG, which was made on July 23, 1532, and confirmed in the following month (August 2). By this not only was toleration granted to the Lutherans till the Council, but Charles was pledged to secure a Council within six months. From this moment dates his disagreement with the Pope. The Pope had real ground of complaint against Charles. He had conceded to the Emperor more than one of the

[1] The five Forest Cantons, Uri, Schwyz, Unterwalden, Zug, and Lucerne, were surrounded by Protestant Cantons, on which they were dependent for their corn. An obstinate blockade drove them into an alliance with Austria, and at last open war resulted. In October, 1531, a decisive Catholic victory was won at *Kappel*, Zwingli being among the slain (October 11).

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conditions on which he consented to a Council, and now Charles, in the face of the remonstrances of those who prayed him not to tarnish the lustre of his edict at Worms,[1] conceded everything to the Lutherans, and pledged himself to a Council within six months. On the other hand, we must remember that it was only by pledging himself to this Council that Charles and the Pope escaped the threatened National Synod of Germany. The Turks *retreated* without a battle before the united Catholic and Protestant forces, and Charles at once set out for Spain. *This was in the autumn of* 1532. On his way he met the Pope at Bologna, aud pressed his request for a Council, which, says Robertson, "it was indecent (for the Pope) to refuse and dangerous to grant."[2] No difficulties arose as to the conditions, for the Pope would only summon a *Council* according to precedent, and the Lutherans wished for a *conference* which should have the authority of an Œcumenical Council. The Pope looked upon Lutheranism as a definite heresy already condemned by Church and State; the Protestants persisted in treating the points at issue as open questions, which were moreover to be discussed on Protestant principles. It was agreed that a papal nuncio and an imperial legate should be sent into Germany to arrange the conditions of the Council (February 20, 1533). At the same time Charles succeeded in persuading the Pope to initiate a league of Italian states for the protection of Italy (February 24, 1533). To Charles this meant protection against any attempts of France to recover Milan; to the Pope it meant a safeguard against the German and Spanish garrisons of Charles. Charles's fear of Francis was not without reason. The terms of the Treaty of Cambray (August 5, 1529) were only less hard than those of the treaty of Madrid, and Francis was only waiting for an opportunity of violating them. The first step was to break the close union between Pope and Emperor. With a view to this the union of Catherine de Medici, Clement's niece, with Prince Henry of France, which had been for some time discussed, was now pressed by the French king. The Pope through his nephew, who had

[1] Pallavicino, III. ix. 8. [2] "Charles V.," i. 421.

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married a natural daughter of Charles, was already allied with the Emperor. He now consented to a marriage alliance with Francis, and proceeded to meet the French king at Marseilles. This was on October 11, 1533, the year in which Cranmer had pronounced Henry's divorce from Katharine. Immediately after, the cause, which had dragged on for six years, was decided in Rome, July 11, 1533 (Cranmer's judgment was May 23), but the sentence of excommunication was suspended in the hope that Henry would submit.

It was while the Pope was at Marseilles that Henry's ambassadors arrived, and appealed from him to a Council. At the close of 1533 the Pope returned to Rome. No further excuse for postponing the sentence against Henry was admitted by the cardinals, though the Pope refused to pronounce it till the final mission of Bellay had failed. As far as Henry was concerned, these last negotiations were a solemn farce, for while they were pending, *i.e.* in the first three months of 1534, the three great acts of the Reformation Parliament were passed, which made peace with Rome impossible (25 Hen. VIII. cc. 19, 20, 21). The papal sentence condemning the divorce is dated March 23, 1534, and neither the Pope nor Bellay could secure a re-hearing. The sentence, which was not intended to be generally known, was sent to Flanders, and exposed on the door of a church at Dunkerque.[1] The loss of England was the last blow which the unfortunate Pope received. He was soon attacked by disease, and died on September 25, 1534.

In Germany two things happened in 1534–5 which further complicated the relations of Protestants and Catholics. One was the violation of the Peace of Nuremberg by the restoration of Duke Ulrich of Würtemberg. This was the work of Philip of Hesse (June, 1534) against the wish of Luther and Melanchthon,[2] [and thrust] a Protestant wedge into South Germany.[3] The other was the fact of the excesses of Anabaptists (John of Leyden, etc.),[4] at Münster.

Paul III., Clement's successor in the throne, was elected

[1] Dixon, ii. 94.
[2] Häusser, p. 181.
[3] Köstlin, pp. 457, etc.
[4] See Hagenbach, ii. 217 *sqq.*

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unanimously on October 13. The choice of the cardinals was Alexander Farnese, a born Roman, who had gained experience during the reigns of four Popes. Pope Paul III. was as anxious as Adrian had been for internal reforms, but, with more wisdom, forbade the publication of his schemes of reform lest a handle should be given to the heretics.[1] One of his first official acts (May 20, 1535) was to send a cardinal's hat to Bishop Fisher, who was then in prison, on which Henry brutally remarked that Fisher would have to wear it on his shoulders, as he would have no head to wear it on, [and had him executed on June 22]. His other appointments showed more discernment of the spirit of the times. Contarini, Sadolet, Pole, Aleander, Bellay, were all men of conciliatory disposition, many of them members of the Oratory of Divine Love,[2] among whom justification by faith was as much a watchword as among the Lutherans. Moreover Paul contrasted well with his predecessor in his ecclesiastical and general policy. He was honestly anxious for a Council, despatched messengers to the various powers to arrange the conditions, and steadily refused to identify himself with either the imperial or the French party, declaring that he was the common father of both.[3]

With a view to hastening a Council, Vergerius was sent into Germany with letters to all the princes, Protestant as well as Catholic, in November, 1535. The place now proposed was MANTUA. Private instructions were given to Vergerius,[4] as appears from his letter, that he should prevent any diet being held that year, lest it should bring with it the threatened national synod. Such a synod would mean a certain triumph for Lutheranism.[5] Mantua was accepted, and all the Catholic princes, except the Elector Palatine, on condition that Charles, who was now occupied with his African campaign, agreed. The Protestants spoke of Vergerius in the highest terms, and he was honourably received by the Elector of Saxony, who arranged a meeting between him and Luther (November

[1] Pallavicino, III. xvii. 3.
[2] See Ranke, i. 111.
[3] *Ibid.*, i. 181.
[4] See Pallavicino, III. xviii. 2.
[5] *Ibid.*, 3.

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7, 1535).[1] But on December 21, 1535, *fifteen princes and thirty cities met at Schmalkald and definitely refused the proposed Mantuan Council.* Francis[2] and Henry were in secret negotiation with the league against the Council. The legates were Bishop Fox and Bishop Bellay. Francis was meditating war in Italy. Henry hoped to secure the alliance of the league against the Pope, but the league would not approve the divorce, and Henry would not accept the Augsburg Confession.[3]

Vergerius was now recalled. It was evident that the Protestants were opposed, not to the *conditions*, but to the Council, and *the Pope therefore determined to summon the Council without them.* Charles had returned in triumph from Africa, and was now at Rome, and the result was a determination, published on *April* 8, to hold the *Council at Mantua.* A bull of *June* 2, 1536, summoned the Council for May 23, 1537, and nuncios were sent to inform the Christian princes of the convocation. [The Schmalkaldic articles, prepared on February 15, 1537, for presentation to the Council, were very outspoken and anti-Roman.[4]] But the Mantuan Council never took place,[5] for (i.) *Charles and Francis were again at war*, the latter having taken advantage of Charles's absence to violate the League of Cambray and invade Italy. Charles publicly denounced Francis before the Pope, and challenged him to single combat; in May, 1537, he invaded France, where he wasted some months, and in November he had to

[1] Pallavicino, II. xviii. sects. 7–9, with which cf. Sarpi, pp. 70–72.

[2] Francis had for some time been trying to conciliate the Schmalkald Protestants, but thinking he had gone too far, he made a show of his orthodoxy. His league with the excommunicated Henry, his negotiations with Schmalkald, and, above all, his giving audience to the envoy of the infidel Solyman, were to be atoned for by the public burning of six Protestants (1535).

[3] Publication of Ten Articles in England also took place in 1536. They were the first English formulary of faith, and formed England's ultimatum in answer to the Confession of Augsburg. They were a protest against Protestantism, not against Rome.

[4] Hagenbach, ii. 233, 234.

[5] For King Henry's protest against it, see Collier, "Records," xxxviii., and Dixon, vol. i. p. 308. He only wished that all the bishops and prelates should be of his way of thinking, and then he would accept the Council (State Papers, vii. 636, quoted f.n. Dixon, l.c.).

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retire with the remains of an army. And (ii.) an unexpected difficulty arose on the part of Frederick, Duke of Mantua, who refused to allow the Council unless a garrison was provided (February 24, 1537). As he refused to yield to either Pope or Emperor, the Council was prorogued by *bull of April* 20, 1537, till the following November, no place being as yet notified. *Trent* was suggested by the King of the Romans, but the Pope had already agreed with the Venetians to hold the council at VICENZA, and on the *8th of October* summoned a Council to meet at Vicenza on the Feast of SS. Philip and James (May 1), 1538. A scheme of reformation was at once set on foot, and entrusted to a committee of four cardinals and five other prelates. The cardinals were Contarini, Sadolet, Caraffa (afterwards Pope), and Pole; the prelates, Fregoso, Aleander, Cortese, Badia (all afterwards cardinals), and Ghiberti.[1] These heads of reformation, in spite of the Pope's caution, were transmitted to Germany, and soon after printed by the heretics.[2] But no Council could assemble *while Charles and Francis were at war*, and their negotiations came to nothing, though Francis, who had secretly made an alliance with the Turk, found that he must consent to break it, or else be left alone by his Swiss and other allies in Christendom. The papal legates, Campeggio, Simonetta, and Aleander, were indeed sent to Vicenza, but the nuncios who had previously been despatched to negotiate a peace between the Emperor and the king reported that no progress was made, and the Pope himself set out for Nice, to bring about, if possible, a peace between the rival monarchs. News reached him at Piacenza that, though it was within a week of the Council, not a single bishop had arrived at Vicenza. Nothing could be done but to postpone the Council, which was done by bull of April 25; and by a later bull, June 28, 1538, it was fixed for Easter, 1539. The Pope's intervention did not secure a peace, but *a ten years' truce was agreed upon* (June 18, 1538).[3] It was in this year, 1538, that Henry VIII. had protested

[1] See a list of the abuses (ap. Sarpi, p. 79; and Pallavicino, IV. v. 5).
[2] *Ibid.*, IV. v. 12; Sarpi, pp. 78, 79.
[3] Pallavicino, IV. vi. 3; and Robertson, ii. 27.

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against the Vicenza Council, as he had done against the proposed Council at Mantua.[1] But on August 19, 1538, a more open defiance of the Pope was shown in the *desecration of Thomas à Becket's* shrine, the monument of the triumph of the Pope over a former King of England (Henry II.). Immediately on the news reaching Rome, the great bull of excommunication and deposition, which had been drawn up in 1535, was launched against him. Pope Clement's sentence of March 23, 1534, was not intended to be published, and the death of Katharine within twenty months (January 7, 1536) might have made it unnecessary for the Pope to proceed to extremities. But in the mean while the execution, in 1535, of Fisher (June 22) and More (July 6) had compelled Pope Paul III. to draft a bull of excommunication (dated August 30, 1535), and the proceedings in England since had made the withholding of it increasingly difficult. Within six months of the destruction of Becket's shrine, on December 17, 1538, England and its king were excommunicated, and Cardinal Pole was sent to the Emperor and to Francis to call upon them to break off all communion with Henry VIII. Whether this bull was ever published in England is a matter of great doubt.[2]

LECTURE XII.

THE PERIOD OF CONFERENCES—HAGENAU, WORMS, RATISBON (1539–1541)—PREPARATIONS FOR THE COUNCIL (1542–1545).

AT the moment when everything seemed favourable for the assembling of a Council, Charles, fearing probably the growing power of the Schmalkaldic League, which already constituted

[1] See Collier, "Records," xxxviii.

[2] See Dixon, ii. 97, f.n. Froude (iii. 304), apud Dixon, l.c., compares Clement's sentence to sheet-lightning; Paul's bull to a forked flash intended to blight and kill. See the bull itself (ap. Dixon, ii. 96), and the negotiations against England which immediately followed (*Ibid*, ii. 101–103).

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an *imperium in imperio,* and the possibility of an alliance between England and the Lutherans, returned to his old policy of *colloquia,* or conferences. These conferences spread over the next three years (1539–1542), and were of special importance as showing the exact theological position of parties when they met, not as judge and criminal, but as theological opponents. In the face of this opposition of Charles, the Pope could do nothing but prorogue the meeting of the Council indefinitely, while declaring his readiness to convoke it at the earliest opportunity (bull of June 13, 1539).

In February, 1539, a meeting of Protestants took place at Frankfort, to which the Emperor sent ambassadors. The Peace of Nuremberg, which each party accused the other of having broken, was allowed to be in force for fifteen months from May 1, 1539, and a conference was summoned to meet at Nuremberg in the summer, to settle matters of faith. In the mean time no new members were to be admitted to the league. It was the non-observance of this condition which prevented the meeting being held; but the insult was keenly felt by the Pope, whose name did not even appear, though the orators of Cæsar, of the Most Christian King, the representatives of the Augustan (Augsburg) confederates, and those of the newly formed Holy League, were to be present.[1] The King of England was equally offended at being left out, but was answered that the league had grown tired of that monarch's indecision, and his unwillingness, as expressed by the Ten Articles, to accept the Augsburg Confession. His negotiations with the Lutherans soon after, and in spite of Melanchthon's persuasiveness,[2] came to an end, and the same year (June 16, 1539) was passed the terrible Six Articles law ("the first Act for uniformity of religion").[3]

While Charles and the Protestants were preparing for the conference, a new scandal to the Reformation arose in the BIGAMY of the landgrave (December, 1539–March, 1540). Luther and Melanchthon had said that "what was allowed in

[1] See quotations from Contarini's letter to Pole, July, 1539, ap. Dixon, ii. 104, f.n.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii. 105.

[3] *Ibid.*, ii. 123.

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respect of marriage by the law of Moses was not actually forbidden in the Gospel," but required that the matter should be kept private. This act discredited the Reformation more than anything else.[1]

But though the colloquy at Nuremberg did not take place, another was arranged to meet at Spires; but as the pestilence was there, met in the summer of 1540 at *Hagenau*, in Alsace.[2] No papal legate was present, though the imperial party pressed for it, and the legate himself, Cardinal Cervino, wished to go. Eck and Cochlæus represented the Catholics, but the Protestants produced no one of mark. Melanchthon started for Hagenau, but was taken ill.[3] The chief subject of discussion was Justification, on which the Catholic theologians were willing to make concessions if the Protestants would omit the word "*sola*," out this was refused. A new colloquy was arranged to take place at *Worms*, on October 28, and ended in January of the next year (1541). Campeggio represented the Holy See, the Pope having yielded to the request of Charles and Ferdinand; Eck, Cochlæus, and Malvenda the Spaniard were the disputants on the Catholic side; while for the Protestants there were present Melanchthon, Capito, Bucer, Osiander, Brenz, and Calvin. This was the first meeting between *Melanchthon and Calvin*. After three days' discussion on original sin, an imperial rescript dissolved the assembly, and ordered it to meet again at Ratisbon (Regensburg).[4] At this conference, which met April 5, 1541, the Emperor selected the speakers. Julius von Pflug, Dean of Meissen, John Gropper, Doctor of Theology at Cologne, with Eck, who fell ill during the discussion, represented the Catholics; Melanchthon, Bucer, and Pistorius, the Protestants. Frederick, the count palatine, and Granvelle, Charles's

[1] See Köstlin, pp. 506-509; Hagenbach, ii. 377, f.n.; and for a coarse statement and an immoral defence, cf. P. Bayne, ii. 560. Refer to Luther's views of marriage and divorce in his "Babylonish Captivity" (prefers polygamy to divorce).

[2] Hagenbach, ii. 240.

[3] It was on this occasion that Luther visited him, and made his "powerful" (? blasphemous) prayer, for which see *ibid.*, i. 408.

[4] In this year, 1540, appeared the *Confessio Variata*, [a new edition of the Augsburg one, both prepared by Melanchthon].

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minister, were appointed to act as presidents. Never had the chance of reunion been greater. Both sides were willing to make concessions. The Emperor was only anxious to secure unity. The papal legate, Contarini, was exactly the man to meet that general desire for religious peace which for the moment seemed universal. The Pope, however, had refused to appoint his legate with full powers, though considerable latitude was given him, of which, at the very opening of the colloquy, Contarini availed himself, to alter the order of procedure. The question of papal supremacy, which the Pope wished to have precedence, was allowed to be taken last, in order that questions which touched the foundations of faith might first be settled.[1] Charles, through his minister, who was bound to the strictest secrecy, then presented to the conference a Book of Concord, drawn up by learned divines, which might serve as a basis of agreement. This book, which is now generally believed to have been the work of Gropper, was divided into twenty-two heads, as follows: 1. Creation of Man; 2. Integrity of Nature; 3. Free-will; 4. Cause of Original Sin; 5. Justification; 6. The Church and her Signs; 7. The Signs of the Word of God; 8. Penance after Sin; 9. Authority of the Church; 10. Interpretation of Holy Scripture; 11–16. The Seven Sacraments; 17. Charity; 18. The Ecclesiastical Hierarchy; 19. The Articles determined by the Church; 20. Use, Administration, and Ceremonies of the Sacraments; 21. Ecclesiastical Discipline; 22. Discipline of the Laity. By mutual concessions and explanations the disputants actually agreed on the four primary acticles, *human nature, original sin, redemption*, and *justification*,[2] in which four points Bucer declared that "everything requisite to a godly, righteous, and holy life before God, and in the sight of man, was comprehended."[3] On the more ecclesiastical articles, the ninth, the tenth, the eighteenth, the nineteenth, and the twenty-first, no agreement was arrived at. Still something was done, and Charles was

[1] See the instructions quoted by Ranke, i. 120, f.n.
[2] See Hardwick, "Reformation," p. 59, f.n.
[3] Ranke's "Popes," i. 122.

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anxious that at least the points agreed upon should be enforced; but Contarini reminded him that two things were necessary—the sanction of the Pope, and the consent of Luther. Both of these were refused. At Rome it was thought that Contarini had gone too far on the subject of Justification, or, at least, that the articles were too indefinitely expressed, even if they did not compromise Catholic truth. Luther, with his usual violence, refused to believe that his old antagonist Eck could have accepted justification by faith; he declared the RATISBON INTERIM, as it was called, to be "a vamped-up thing, poorly pieced and stuck together; a patch of new cloth upon an old garment, whereby the rent is made worse."[1] But probably the most important opposition to reunion came from outside. Francis trembled at the thought of unity for Germany, and schemed against it. This is plainly stated by Contarini[2] and his secretary, who accused the enemies of the Emperor of sowing the tares of discord among the divines.[3] The result was that the formula of the conference was rejected at Rome, and Charles, when he published the recess of June 29, was compelled, through fear of the Turk, to revive the peace of Nuremberg, and grant to the Protestants toleration while he forbade proselytism.[4]

These conciliatory negotiations having failed, Charles returned to the idea of an *Œcumenical Council*, or, if not, a national synod for Germany. The Pope, receiving news of this from Contarini, forestalled him by proposing (May 27, 1541) a Council, of which news was sent to the legate. Charles was indignant, and said plainly that the Pope ought to have waited for the will of the Diet. The German princes clamoured for a national synod, the Protestants refused to recognize a Council summoned by the Pope; but the Emperor, in his Recess, declared plainly for a Council, which he said the legate had promised should be held in Germany. Meanwhile the doctrines agreed upon at Ratisbon were to be approved, and if the Council was not held, a national synod should be

[1] Letter of May 10, 1541, ap. Hagenbach, vol. ii. 243, f.n.

[2] See Ranke, i. 125, f.n.

[3] *Ibid.*, i. 126, 127.

[4] Hagenbach, ii. 244.

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called.[1] In August of the same year (1541), the Pope and Emperor met at *Lucca*, and the latter made three demands, which the Pope asked time to answer. The demands were that the Pope should summon the Council in Germany, should institute a reformation of the German clergy, and contribute a fourth part to the war against the Turk. The answers to these were to be laid before the approaching Diet of Spires. Early in the following year (1542), Morone was sent to signify the Pope's will in the matter. A reformation is to take place not only in Germany, but everywhere; for the war against the Turk the Pope would provide 5000 soldiers, provided they were led by Charles, otherwise 2500; while for the Council (the Venetians refusing Vicenza) Mantua, or Ferrara, or Placentia, or Bologna are proposed. Morone arrived with these answers in March and found the Diet sitting. He addressed the Diet on March 23, and, having found that all the four places proposed were objected to as dependencies of the Pope, he suggested two new ones, Cambray or Trent, as a last resort. TRENT,[2] being in the Tyrol, on the confines of Germany, and its prince-bishop subject to the Empire and to Ferdinand, the King of the Romans [as Count of Tyrol], was accepted by the Diet, and on May 22 a *Bull of Convocation* was agreed on by the Consistory, summoning the Council for All Saints Day' (November 1, 1542). This bull was promulgated on the Festival of SS. Peter and Paul, in which Pallavicino finds a special appropriateness, St. Peter's prerogative being at stake, while it was in the Church of All Saints' [and on that festival] that, twenty-five years before, Luther had enunciated his heresy.[3]

The bull which summoned the Council of Trent unfortunately spoke in as complimentary terms of Francis as of Charles; and the latter took offence, contrasting his own care

[1] Pallavicino, IV. XV. 12. The colloquy was followed by a reproduction on the part of Eck of the articles agreed upon, and a defence of them by Von Pflug and Gropper (*ibid.*, 13).

[2] [Trent had been suggested by Charles as the seat of the Council as early as May, 1524; see Balan, p. 352.]

[3] Pallavicino, IV. *sub fin.*

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for the good of the Church and the suppression of heresy with the alliance of the Most Christian King with the Turk and with Henry of England. Francis retaliated by reminding the dutiful son of the Church that he had for six months imprisoned his father, while as for his own alliance with the infidel, it was not without a parallel in Old Testament history. The mediation of the Pope effected nothing, and the chances of the Council meeting grew daily less, as the legates Morone, Parisis, and Pole (who received the cross, October 20) were instructed not to open the Council until the arrival of the chief prelates from Italy, Germany, France, and Spain. Indeed, the legates did not reach Trent till *November 22*, and few bishops had preceded them, the war between Francis and Charles making travelling unsafe. The Emperor's ambassadors, Granvelle and Mendoza, arrived on January 8, 1543, but stayed only a short time, alleging in excuse the fewness of those present. The Pope at the beginning of the summer actually travelled as far as Buxetum (*propè* Padum ?), in order to have an interview with Charles and persuade him to peace, but in vain.[1] From this point we find the friendship between Charles and the Pope relaxed, while that between the Pope and Francis is strengthened; and when Charles, to the surprise of every one, forgot the wrong done to Katharine, and made *an alliance with Henry of England*, and invited the Pope to join him against France, Paul refused, and declared that, having acted as a father, he would now play the judge, and see who it was who stood in the way of peace and that only remedy for the sin of Christendom, a General Council. The Council had now been prorogued (July 6, 1543) after the papal legates had wasted seven months at Trent; and the Pope, by the agency of Cardinal Farnese, was still negotiating for peace. Charles was implacable, and sought to stir up the Pope against Francis by producing copies of letters in which the French king proposed an alliance with the Landgrave of Hesse. The Pope refusing to join the Emperor against Francis, *Charles was driven to conciliate*

[1] Buxetum = Busseto, a castle of the Pallavicini, between Parma and Placentia.

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the Protestant princes, and, at a Diet held at Spires early in 1544, *repealed the Edicts of Worms and Augsburg*, relieved the Protestants from all disabilities, and allowed them to keep the stolen ecclesiastical property till the Œcumenical Council. In return for these concessions, the *Elector of Saxony recognized Ferdinand as King of the Romans*. This Diet of Spires giving to the Protestants *not only toleration, but absolute civil and religious equality*, called forth a long letter (August 24) of rebuke from the Pope (which Pallavicino gives in full[1]), in which the Pope even threatened Charles with ecclesiastical censures. Charles replied in conciliatory terms, exculpating himself, and accusing Francis as the cause of the postponing of the Council. This was in August. A few weeks after (September 18, 1544), the Peace of Crêpy was concluded between Francis and Charles. The Pope ordered public thanksgivings throughout Christendom, and, removing the suspension of the Council, summoned it, by bull of November 19, to meet on *March* 15, 1545. The legates were men well qualified to represent the head of Christendom. *John del Monte*, Bishop of Palestrina, and afterwards Pope Julius III.; *Marcello Cervino*, who succeeded him as Pope Marcellus II.; and *Reginald Pole*. The legates, on their arrival, found no bishop at Trent, except the Bishop of Cava, who had been specially sent to precede the legates, and the prelates arrived so slowly that it was thought inexpedient to open the Council. They were also anxious for the results of a Diet which was to be held at Worms on *March* 24, 1545. To the surprise of the Protestants, Ferdinand, on opening the Diet, called upon them to *submit to the Council*, and reminded them that the Recess of Spires was a temporary arrangement till the Œcumenical Council, which was now assembling. The Emperor, on his arrival, repeated these demands, but without effect. They would neither acknowledge a Council summoned by the Pope, nor assist the Emperor in the Turkish war, unless full liberty of religion was conceded to them. At Trent, on April 20, when only ten bishops were present, the Pope's order to open the Council

[1] V. vi.

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on May 3 arrived; but the legates, having consulted with Cardinal Farnese, determined that a further postponement was necessary. This being reported to the Pope, he issued instructions to the legates to open the Council as soon as it seemed expedient. The expedient moment was a difficult one to discover. For Charles, as the Legate Farnese learned, feared that the opening of the Council would give the Protestants the signal for war, for which neither he nor the Pope was prepared, while, if no Council opened before the Diet at Worms closed, the threatened Diet for settling all religious questions was almost a certainty. At the beginning of August,[1] however, the DECREE OF THE DIET was published, in which Charles, while conceding nothing to the Protestants, either as to protecting them from the Council or granting toleration, or indemnifying them for the ecclesiastical property, yet promised that *a conference should be held in the winter at Ratisbon.* It now seemed that the Council could no longer be delayed. Cæsar would hear nothing of transferring it to Italy, and the Pope would not consent to treat of reformation before doctrine. It was therefore determined, in a Consistory held on November 16, that the Council should be formally opened on *December* 13; a bull to that effect being issued on the 4th. The prelates of Germany were allowed to appear by proxy. All bishops present were exempted from payment of tithes, and allowed to receive their revenues in absence.

The breve issued to the legates instructed them: 1. To proceed at once to doctrine. 2. They were to condemn the opinions, not the persons of heretics. 3. They were not to content themselves with a general condemnation, but to proceed to details. Reformation, as of secondary importance, was next to be dealt with; all suggestions to be graciously received, but all reforms to be left to the Pope. All letters and documents were to be signed by the legates as presidents, and by the Pope whose representatives they were "*adeo ut non modo convocati Concilii auctor appareret, sed coacti Caput ac Rector.*"[2] Indulgences were to be granted, but not in the name of the Council. Everything was now ready for

[1] Pallavicino, v. xv. 1.
[2] *Ibid.*, v. xvi. 2.

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the opening, when an unexpected difficulty arose, the French bishops being suddenly recalled. It was with some difficulty, and not without threats of a papal breve, that the opposition of Francis was removed. The breve for opening the Council arrived on the 11th; a solemn fast was ordered for the next day, in preparation for the 13th.

On December 13, 1545, the legates and the fathers, after arraying themselves in their pontificals in the Church of the Trinity, intoned the hymn to the Holy Spirit. Then, in regular procession, the regulars, the seculars, the bishops, and lastly the legates, with the ambassadors of the King of the Romans, attended Mass in the Cathedral of St. Vigilius.[1] Del Monte, as first legate, celebrated; the Bishop of Bitonto preached a Latin sermon. Then the legate gave the blessing, and, after the bull which removed the suspension (November 19, 1544) and the breve appointing the legates had been read by Campeggio, addressed the assembled prelates. The council was then declared opened, and the next session was indicted for *January* 7, 1546. At the opening there were present three legates, four archbishops, twenty bishops, five generals of orders, and King Ferdinand's ambassadors.[2]

CHRONOLOGY OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT.

Paul III. (*October* 13, 1534-*November* 10, 1549).

1542.
May 22.—The Council summoned to meet at Trent on November 1.
1543.
July 6.—The Council prorogued.
1544.
Nov. 19.—Council summoned for March 15, 1545, but prorogued April 20 and December 4, 1545.
1545.
Dec. 13.—Session I. Formal opening.
1546.
Jan. 7.—Session II. Manner of living. "Representing" clause.
Feb. 4.—Session III. Symbol of faith (Creed of Constantinople).
April 8.—Session IV. Canonical Scriptures, and editions of them. Tradition.
June 17.—Session V. Original sin. Preaching to be enforced.

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[1] [The actual sessions of this Council were held not here, but in the Church of Santa Maria Maggiore.]

[2] Pallavicino, V. xvii. 9.

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1547.
Jan. 13.—Session VI. Justification. Residence of all beneficed clergy to be enforced.
March 3.—Session VII. Sacraments in general.
March 11.—Session VIII. Transferred to Bologna.
April 21.—Session IX. Prorogued. } Formal sessions at Bologna.
June 2.—Session X. Prorogued. } The congregations continue their debates.
1549.
Sept. 14.—The Council suspended.

Julius III. (*February* 8, 1550—*March* 23, 1555).

1550.
Nov. 14.—The Council summoned to meet at Trent on May 1, 1551.
1551.
May 1.—Session XI. Prorogued.
Sept. 1.—Session XII. Protest of Henry II. of France against the Council.
Oct. 11.—Session XIII. The Eucharist.
Nov. 25.—Session XIV. Penance and Extreme Unction.
1552.
Jan. 25.—Session XV. Safe conduct granted to the Protestants.
April 28.—Session XVI. Council suspended for two years.

Marcellus II. (*April* 9–30, 1555).
Paul IV. (*May* 23, 1555—*August* 18, 1559).
Pius IV. (*December* 25, 1559—*December* 9, 1565).

1560.
Nov. 29.—The Council summoned to meet at Trent on Easter Day, 1561.
Dec. 19.—Meeting deferred till January 6, 1562, and then to January 18.
1562.
Jan. 18.—Session XVII. Resumption of the proceedings.
Feb. 26.—Session XVIII. Choice of books. Safe conduct to the Protestants (published March 4).
May 14.—Session XIX. Prorogued.
June 4.—Session XX. Prorogued.
July 16.—Session XXI. Communion in both kinds, and communion of children. Bishops' fees abolished.
Sept. 17.—Session XXII. Doctrine of the Mass. "Quæstors," or vendors of indulgences, abolished.
1563.
July 15.—Session XXIII. Sacrament of Orders. Those who have cure of souls to reside. Seminaries for training up clerics to be established in every diocese.
Nov. 11.—Session XXIV. Sacrament of Matrimony. Regulations as to holding benefices.
Dec. 3-4.—Session XXV. Purgatory, invocation of saints, relics, indulgences, decrees as to "regulars," tithe, duelling, etc. All decrees of the Council from 1545 onwards read and approved.[1]

[1] The Catechism ordered to be drawn up by the decrees of the twenty-fourth and twenty-fifth sessions did not appear till 1566, and was therefore not strictly promulgated by the Council itself. The Breviary and Missal were revised in 1568 and 1570 respectively.

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On January 26, 1564, the Pope solemnly confirmed the decrees of the Council, which had been signed by 255 prelates, viz. 4 legates, 2 cardinals, 3 patriarchs, 25 archbishops, 168 bishops, 7 abbots, 39 proxies for absent prelates, and 7 generals of religious orders. There is only one English name on the list, Thomas Goldwell, consecrated to the see of St. Asaph, in 1553, and deprived in 1559 on Elizabeth's accession. There were also three Irish bishops who signed. Waterworth (p. 311) gives a list, from which it appears of the prelates who signed, 189 were Italian, 35 Spanish, and 27 French, besides 6 Greeks. No other nationality is represented by more than 3 persons.

LECTURE XIII.

OPENING OF THE COUNCIL AND THE SCHMALKALDIC WAR (1545–1547).

THE Council of Trent lasted from December 13, 1545, to December 4, 1563, during which period five Popes sat upon the papal throne. *Paul III.*, in whose reign the Council opened, was succeeded (February 8, 1550) by his legate, Cardinal del Monte, under the title of *Julius III.* After five years (April 9, 1555) he was succeeded by his brother legate, Cardinal Marcello Cervino, who kept his name as Pope *Marcellus II.* But his reign lasted only twenty-two days (April 9–30, 1555), when Caraffa, Pope *Paul IV.*, was elected (May 23, 1555) to succeed him. The last of the five Popes was another of the Medicean family, Giovanni Angelo, who was known as Pope *Pius IV.* (elected December 25, 1559), and under him the Council of Trent was successfully closed. But if we look back over the eighteen years which intervened between the opening and closing of the Council, we find that the actual work of the Council was done in three periods. The *first*, including Sessions III.–VII., covers the interval between February 4, 1546, and March 3, 1547, or little more than a year, during six months of which (June 17, 1546–January 13) no session was held. The second period was in the reign of Julius III., and includes Sessions XIII. and XIV. (October 11 and November 25, 1551), while the *third* period includes Sessions XXI.–XXV., and extends from July 16, 1562, to

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December 4, 1563, with again an interval of ten months (September 17, 1562–July 15, 1563). As far, then, as the internal and theological history of the Council is concerned, we have to deal with the five sessions which took place in 1546 and 1547, the two which took place in 1551, and the five sessions with which the Council closed, 1562–63. The other sessions were concerned with formal business—opening, prorogation, suspension, transference, safe conducts, etc., the explanation of which must be sought in the external history of the period. The interval between the earlier and later sittings of the Council, if we except the formal debates and the two sessions of 1551, covers fifteen years, namely, from 1547 to 1562.

Luther died February 18, 1546 (two months after the opening of the Council). HENRY VIII. died January 28, 1547, less than a year after Luther. His contemporary, FRANCIS, died March 31, two months after. Charles, ten years later (*February* 24, 1558), resigns the imperial crown to Ferdinand, his brother, as two years before (January 16, 1556) he had transferred the crown of Spain to his son Philip. All the chief actors in the Reformation seemed to have departed from the scene. *When the Council met for its final sessions*, the successor of Charles was still reigning; but Henry II. of France had been succeeded (June 29, 1559) by Francis II., whose short reign (he died December 5, 1560) was followed by that of Charles IX. England had passed through the religious revolutions of Edward VI. (1547–1553) and Mary (1553–1558), and had seen the Papacy again repudiated under Elizabeth, whose reign began only a year before Pius was elected Pope.

The opening of the Council and the indiction of the second session for January 7, 1546, was the work of the first session. Between the first and second sessions sundry questions had to be settled. First, as to who were to vote, and second, as to the title of the Council. The first question caused little difficulty.[1] It was decided that Generals of the religious orders should have a vote, and that the three abbots

[1] On the anti-German tactics of the Papacy, cf. Philippson, pp. 309, 310. (1) Votes by nations refused; (2) vote by proxy refused.

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of the Cistercian order present should have one vote between them as representing one order. The other matter was not so easily settled. Some wished the council to be described as not only "general and œcumenical," but "representing the universal Church." It was ruled, though not without opposition, which reappeared more than once, that the "representing" clause should be omitted. There was, too, as might be expected, some friction between the Council and the legates. Still, notwithstanding disputes in the congregations, the session of January 7, 1546, passed the decree "touching the manner of living" with only two dissentients. The Bishop of Clermont wished to insert the name of the King of France with that of Charles in the appointed prayers, and several Italian and Spanish bishops objected to the omission of the "representing" clause.

To prepare for the third session on February 4, 1546, congregations were held on January 13, 19, and 22. In the first "the title of the Council" was discussed; the others were occupied with a much more important subject—Is doctrine or reformation to take precedence? The papal commands and the imperial wishes were diametrically opposed. Campeggio suggested a compromise, which was accepted, viz. that faith and discipline should go together in each session; and, when the Pope was displeased at this, it was decided that the new arrangement should not take effect till Session V. The method of procedure was then arranged. The theologians and canonists were divided into three congregations or committees, which were to meet severally at the house of the legates, the result being communicated to a general congregation previous to the public session. These began on February 2, but as many prelates were known to be on their way to Trent, nothing was arranged for the third session, except that the Constantinopolitan Creed should be publicly accepted. This decree passed unanimously on February 4, except that some again objected to the absence of the "representing" clause, and others wished that a decree should be framed binding the Council to treat of doctrine and discipline conjointly.

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During these early sessions of January and February a new colloquy took place at Ratisbon, at which Charles appointed Malvenda, Billicus, Hofmeister, and Cochlæus to dispute with Bucer, Brenz, Major, and Schnepff. But it proved as fruitless as its predecessors.[1] A Protestant Diet was being held at Frankfort at the same time, and seemed preparing for war. On February 18, after the third session of the Council of Trent, *Luther died*,[2] and almost immediately after *the war* that he dreaded broke out. His words in 1545 were prophetic: "So long as I live, no danger, please God, will arise, and there will be a continuance of peace in Germany. But when I die, then pray.[3] The useless colloquy at Ratisbon was succeeded by a Diet in the same city in June, to which the Schmalkaldic League sent a petition for the ratification of peace, and a protest against the Council of Trent. *The Elector of Saxony* and the *Landgrave Philip* afterwards wrote to Charles (July 4), assuring him of their loyalty to him; but sentence of outlawry on the leaders of the League was pronounced on July 20. The Council had held two more sessions (*Session IV., April* 8, and *Session V., June* 17), in which they had passed decrees on the *canonical Scriptures and the authority of the Bible and tradition*, together with the important decree on *original sin*. Both of these had been followed by decrees of reformation, and the next session was fixed for St. James's Day, July 25, but was afterwards (owing to disputes on Justification) prorogued to *January* 13, 1547. By the time when the Council should have met, the Pope and the Emperor were in league against the Protestants. They, in fear, applied for help to Venice, to Switzerland, and to the Kings of France and England, who had at length made peace; but no help was given them. The League mustered, it is said, 47,000; the imperial army consisted of 8700, to which were added 12,900 as the Pope's contingent. The treacherous Duke

[1] Hagenbach, ii. p. 250.
[2] See his character in *ibid.*, ii. pp. 258 *sqq.*; Waterworth, lxxxii.; Pallavicino, VI. x.
[3] Hagenbach, ii. 266.

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Maurice of Saxony, cousin of the Elector and son-in-law of the Landgrave, a Protestant, but not a member of the League, joined, forgetting his professed Protestantism, and anxious only to secure the promised spoils of the Elector of Saxony, and a triumph over his father-in-law, the Landgrave. The miserable break-down of the Schmalkaldic League and the *end of the war followed.* Charles, avoiding an engagement, waited for the disorganization of the Protestant confederacy. The Elector was pursued into Saxony, where he surrendered, after the battle of Mühlberg, on April 24, 1547. Wittenberg, which had been in a state of siege since October, 1546, capitulated on Ascension Day (the Landgrave having surrendered at discretion), and had to recognize Maurice as its lord. The Elector and the Landgrave were kept as prisoners. Hermann of Cologne was deposed, and Adolph of Schaumburg made archbishop in his place. The other members of the League offered abject apologies, and submitted to fines assessed by the Emperor. *The Schmalkaldic War was at an end, and with it the Schmalkaldic League.*[1]

Two more important sessions of the Council had been held in the early part of this year, the *sixth* on *January* 13, in which a long and important decree on *Justification* was framed and passed, and *the seventh* on *March* 3, when the subject of discussion was *the Sacraments.* Many abuses were in the same sessions reformed, strict rules being laid down for residence, visitations, exempt churches, and beneficed clergy. The next session was to be held on April 21, but at a congregation held on March 10, the Legate Del Monte suddenly proposed that the Council should be transferred to Bologna. The reason alleged for this was the prevalence of some infectious disease, of which the General of the Cordeliers and the Bishop of Cappaccio had died. The neighbouring cities had forbidden all communication with Trent. Some of the bishops had already fled, and others were preparing to leave. But it is worthy of notice that it was in the debates connected with the seventh session that the most decided disagreement between the papal and imperial members became apparent.

[1] See Hagenbach, ii. pp. 272 *sqq.*

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The legates wished to revoke the whole question of reformation to the Pope. This the imperial party refused to allow. Even the reforms agreed upon in Session VII. seemed to them incomplete, and practically evaded by papal dispensation. Cardinal Pacheco was at the head of the Spanish opposition, and, according to Sarpi,[1] drew up a protest which was laid before the congregation on February 3. The legates applied to the Pope, and the happy device of transferring the Council was hit upon. Sarpi[2] says nothing about the pestilence, and Pallavicino[3] says nothing about the Spanish Censure, though he denies Sarpi's explanation. The legates left Trent on March 12, two years after their arrival, and were followed to Bologna by all except Cardinal Pacheco, two archbishops, and fifteen bishops. The real cause of the transfer of the Council was political. The war of Charles had gone on too successfully for the Pope, whose old fears revived. He had therefore withdrawn his troops, and suggested to the French king that he should do something to help the Protestants, who were being beaten.[4]

[The following sheet of pencil notes may find a place at this point.]

LUTHER'S CHARACTER AND WORK.

Different views :[5]

He was a "*mystic*," as Savonarola was. Jealous, therefore, of all that came or seemed to come between the soul and God ; therefore anti-sacerdotalist.

He felt that God had called him for his work. He was "an *enthusiast*," as was Savonarola ; therefore splendid in attack.

His *self-conscious* humility often became spiritual pride.[6] Contrast with Savonarola or St. John. "I am the voice." "I am God's hammer." "I am Luther."

He was wanting in balance. Feared the "storm-raiser Reason ;" hence he was disqualified from being a theologian.

[1] Page 238. [2] Page 242. [3] IX. xv. and xvi.
[4] Ranke's "Popes," i. 192–194.
[5] Hagenbach, ii. 263–265 ; Waterworth, lxxxii. [6] Hagenbach, ii. 264.

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The Reformer and the Theologian.

His theology out of *focus*. Doctrine of Justification overstrained into Solifidianism, dwarfing all else.

He clung irrationally to the Real Presence, while rejecting the priesthood and the episcopate. His view of the *priesthood of the laity.*

Hence his want of *balance* in expression and in thought.

He gave no safeguard of liberty against license.

Hence Antinomianism dogged his heels, Carlstadt, Zwickau Prophets, Peasants, Anabaptists.

Διὸ καὶ ἐσώζοντο μὲν πολεμοῦντες διεφθείροντο δ' εἰρήνην ἄγοντες. This explains different views of Luther.

No one more enthusiastic about Luther than the Tübingen theologians.

His position that of the Bible, and Bible only. Contrast with view of English Church.

Rejection of episcopacy.

Breach with Papacy and breach with historical Christianity.

More reconstruction necessary in Germany than in England. Why?

[From a pupil's note-book.]

The gains of the Lutheran Reformation were—

(1) The German people gained their national literature and hymns.

(2) The Roman Church owed to Luther the reforms of the Council of Trent.

SHE OWED THE JESUITS TO LUTHER.

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EVENTS BETWEEN THE BATTLE OF MÜHLBERG AND THE CLOSE OF THE COUNCIL.

	Pope.	Germany.	France.	England.	Council.	
1547.	Paul III.	Charles V. Defeat of Mühlberg, April 24, and break-up of Schmalkaldic League.	Francis I. died March 31. Henry II.	Henry VIII. died Jan. 28. Edward VI.	Jan. 13, Sess. VI. Mar. 3, Sess. VII. Mar. 11, Sess. VIII. transferred to Bologna.	1547.
1548.	Disputes about Parma.	Rupture with the Pope about Council. May 15.—Augsburg Interim. Dec. 22.—Leipsic Interim.		Cranmer's Catechism. Order of the Communion.		1548.
1549.	Died Nov. 10.			First Prayer-book. Bucer, Regius Professor of Divinity at Cambridge, and P. Martyr at Oxford.	Sept. 14, suspended *sine die*.	1549.
1550.	Julius III., Feb. 8.			The Ordinal.		1550.
1551.	Beginnings of the Oratorians.	Confessio Saxonica or Petitio Conf. Aug. Nov. 3.—Magdeburg surrenders.			May 1, Council resumed at Trent. Sess. XI.-XIV.	1551.
1552.		Jan. 24.—Confessio Wirtembergensis and Confessio Saxonica submitted to the legates at Trent. Aug. 2.—*Treaty of Passau.*		Second Prayer-book and second Act of Uniformity. XLII. Articles.	Jan. 25, prorogued, (XV.) April 28, suspended, (XVI.) for two years.	1552.
1553.		July 12.—Death of Maurice.		Edward VI. died July 6. Mary.		1553.
1554.		Mar. 3.—Death of Landgrave Philip.		Mary married Philip, July 25. Cardinal Pole absolves the nation, Nov. 30.		1554.
1555.	Julius died Mar. 23. Marcellus II., April 9-30. Paul IV. elected May 23.	Peace of Augsburg, Sept. 25 and 26.		Feb. 4, 1555, to Nov., 1558. The 4 bishops and 277 others martyred.		1555.
1556.		Philip II., King of Spain.		Cranmer burnt March 21. Pole consecrated Archbishop, March 22.[1]		1556.
1557.	War between Paul and Philip II.					1557.

[1] Cardinal Pole not *legatus a latere* for about a year from June 20, 1557. See Hardwick, p. 222, f. n.

1558.		Ferdinand Emperor, Feb. 24; recognized by Diet, Mar. 8; Pope refuses to crown him.		Mary died Nov. 17. Pole died Nov. 18. Elizabeth.		1558.
1559.	Died Aug. 18. Pius IV., Dec. 25.		Henry II. died June 29. Francis II.	Coronation, Jan. 15. XI. Articles. Archbishop Parker consecrated, Dec. 17.		1559.
1560.		April 19.—Melanchthon died.	Francis II. died Dec. 5. CHARLES IX.			1560.
1561.						1561.
1562.				Revision of XLII. Articles.	Jan. 18, Council resumed. Sess. XVII.-XXII.	1562.
1563.					Sess. XXIII.-XXV. Close of Council, Dec. 4.	1563.

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LECTURE XIV.

FROM THE BATTLE OF MÜHLBERG TO THE PEACE OF AUGSBURG (1547–1555).

In July, 1547, the so-called "Armed" Diet of Augsburg met. The Emperor professed himself anxious for *peace*, and declared that his war against the Schmalkaldic League had nothing to do with religion. He, however, exhorts all to submit to the General Council now being held at Trent. But the Council was no longer there; only the Spanish prelates remained by the Emperor's orders, in the hope that the Pope might be persuaded to recall the Council from Bologna [whither he had transferred it on March 11, 1547]. During the rest of this year the Pope and the Emperor were negotiating on the subject, but the Pope refused to give way, and the Council at Bologna supported him loyally.

Early in the year 1548 (January 23) Charles entered his protest against the Council at Bologna, which was at this time suspended. The history of the Council, as far as business went, is *nil*, though much was done in congregations which was afterwards of use. The first session at Bologna (April 21, Session IX.) prorogued the Council till June 2, when it was again prorogued till September 15, 1547. (This was Session X., Bologna 2.) The day before that fixed for this session the Council was suspended (September 14, 1547), owing mainly to the negotiations of the Pope and Emperor. No date was fixed for the resumption of business. Meanwhile the Diet of Augsburg met, and Charles, finding his hopes of restoring the Council to Trent vain, published The Interim [Elector of Brandenburg and Agricola] on May 15, 1548

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(sometimes called the "Second Interim," or "Interim Augustanum," to distinguish it from the Ratisbon Interim of 1541). This Augsburg Interim took the form of twenty-six articles,[1] and expressed, if it did not disguise, the Lutheran view in Catholic language. Of course, it was distasteful to both parties, though the Archbishop-Elector of Mentz publicly thanked the Emperor for it, and one of its authors, John Agricola (Master Grickel, according to Luther), who with Von Pflug and Helding concocted it, declared that he had reformed the Pope, made a Lutheran of the Emperor, and introduced the Golden Age.[2] The Emperor, in spite of the Pope's displeasure at it, determined to enforce the Interim. Brenz, Schnepff, and four hundred clergy were deprived.[3] Brenz declared it was *interitus non interim*, while a certain learned person discovered that *interim* was the anagram for *mentiri*.[4] "Hüt' dich vor dem Interim, Es lauert ein Schalk hinter ihm."[5] The Protestant Maurice determined to enforce the Interim, but in order to make it less distasteful, he appointed Melanchthon, Bugenhagen, and others to draw up another Interim, called the "Leipsic Interim"[6] (Maurice and Melanchthon), which, while accommodating the principles of Luther to Catholic phraseology, left a considerable margin for things indifferent (*ἀδιάφορα*). [It was accepted on December 22.]

On September 14th of this year, the Council at Bologna was suspended *sine die*. This step had become necessary through the departure of many from Bologna, the refusal of Charles's bishops to leave Trent, and the fear of an open rupture with Charles.

In the year of the Leipsic Interim, Paul III. died, November 10, 1549, his death perhaps being hastened by the assassination of his son, and the conduct of his grandson, Ottavio Farnese, who, in order to keep Parma and Placentia, had sided

[1] Hagenbach, ii. 279.

[2] *Ibid.*, ii. 279.

[3] It was the Augsburg Interim which compelled all the extreme Reformers to leave Germany, and many of them went off to England. This explains the difference in spirit between the First and Second Prayer-book of Edward VI.

[4] See *ibid.*, ii. 283.

[5] Bucer, refusing to accept the Interim, and finding his position dangerous, accepted Cranmer's invitation to England, and became Regius Professor at Cambridge, in 1549.

[6] On which see *ibid.*, ii. 286, etc.

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with the Emperor against the Pope.[1] (Parma and Placentia had been given by Pope Paul to his son, and on that son's death had been resumed.)

Early in 1550 (February 8), Cardinal del Monte became Pope Julius III. He at once expressed his gratitude to his predecessor by restoring Parma to Ottavio, and conciliated the Emperor by recalling the Council to TRENT. The Diet of the Empire, which met on January 25, to enforce the Interim, accepted and promised to obey the Council. The cause of Lutheranism seemed hopeless. Maurice, meanwhile, was successful in deceiving both the Lutherans and the Emperor. To please the latter, *he enforced the Interim in Saxony;* to conciliate the former, he protested against the Council. In October, as general of the papal and imperial forces, he besieges (October, 1550) Magdeburg (surrendered November 3, 1551), which refused the Interim, while at the same time he is attempting to procure the release of the Landgrave. When the Council was formally summoned by a bull of November 14 to meet in the following May (1st), and the recess of the Diet (February 13, 1551) demanded obedience to its decisions, Maurice seems to have determined to head the Protestants as his predecessor had done, but meanwhile to play a double game. War between France, which was in league with Ottavio Farnese, and the Pope and Emperor, who were now united in the attempt to recover Parma, prevented the Council meeting. Session XI. (May 1, 1551,) prorogued the Council till September 1, and Session XII. continued the prorogation till October 11. At this twelfth session the French king's protest against the "conventus" was read, and the answer to it deferred. The answer was eventually adopted at the *thirteenth session, October* 11, 1551, together with important decrees on *the Holy Eucharist*, though four points were still reserved for future consideration.[2] The

[1] Ranke's "Popes," i. 203.

[2] [1. Is Communion in both kinds necessary?

2. Does a man, receiving in one kind, receive less than another receiving in both kinds?

3. Is the Church wrong in communicating lay people and priests who are not celebrating, in one kind only?

4. Are children to be communicated?]

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fourteenth session, on November 25, dealt with *Penance and Extreme Unction.*

The siege of Magdeburg by Maurice ended, after twelve months, in its capitulation on November 3, 1551. The conqueror was appointed Burgrave, and showed himself gentle and tolerant to the Lutherans. While openly acting for Charles, Maurice now attempted an alliance with England under Edward VI.; this failed, but he found himself strong enough to take the field against Charles early in the next year. His avowed object was[1] to save the Protestant religion, to preserve Germany from despotism, and to liberate the Landgrave of Hesse. It was now that Henry of France appeared as "Protector of the liberties of Germany and of its captive princes," in close alliance with Maurice against Charles. Before, however, war actually broke out, the Council held its fifteenth session on January 25, 1552, and granted a safe conduct to the Protestants, who had received audience in a general congregation on the preceding day, January 24. These ambassadors were from Würtemberg with a new Confession (*Confessio Wirtembergensis*), and from the Elector Maurice of Saxony with the *Confessio Saxonica*, or Repetitio Conf. Aug.[2] The Council was then prorogued till March 19, and in a congregation of March 18 postponed till May 1. Subsequently it was arranged to hold a Session on April 28, when the Council was suspended for two years, and did not meet again till 1562. The cause of this was the war between Maurice and the Emperor, which broke out in March. Augsburg was taken, Innsbruck threatened. The Emperor fled, the bishops assembled at Trent scattered, and Maurice was able to make his own terms at the TREATY OF PASSAU, August 2, 1552. The Elector and Landgrave were set at liberty, and Protestantism was saved by its former persecutor.

The next year (1553) witnessed the death (July 12) of

[1] See Robertson, "Charles V.," ii. 263.

[2] The former was used by Archbishop Parker when he remodelled the XLII. Articles in 1562-3 (Hardwick, p. 230). For the latter, see "Sylloge Confessionum."

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Maurice, from a wound received in the battle of Sievershausen (July 9), and the negotiations for the marriage of Philip, Charles' son, with Mary of England.

The Treaty of Passau had left Charles free to revenge himself on Henry of France for his alliance with Maurice, and this war continued through the year 1554, in spite of the negotiations of Cardinal Pole. On July 25 Philip of Spain was married to Mary of England, and on November 30 Pole solemnly absolved England from the excommunication.

Early in the next year (February 5, 1555) a Diet met at Augsburg, presided over by Ferdinand, to which Cardinal Morone was sent as papal legate. But on March 23 Pope Julius III. died, and Morone left Augsburg to return to Rome. The short reign of *Marcellus II.* (*April* 9–30) was followed by the election (May 23) of *Caraffa as Paul IV.* His severe and monastic tastes made him distrust the Emperor, and the Recess of Augsburg (PEACE OF AUGSBURG, 1555, September 25, 26),[1] proclaiming as it did a religious peace and toleration for the Lutherans and all who accepted the Augsburg Confession, made him readily throw himself into the ambitious schemes of his nephews, and conclude an alliance with France against the Emperor (December 15, 1555). Charles resigned Spain to Philip January 16, 1556, [and Austria to his brother Ferdinand on September 7, 1556], and retired to Spain.

[1] For the terms of the Peace of Augsburg, see Hagenbach, ii. 299; Robertson, ii. 337. [It established the principle *cujus regio ejus religio*, that is, that each lay prince could choose his religion if it fell within the limits of the Confession of Augsburg, and could force his subjects to adopt it also.]

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LECTURE XV.

FROM THE PEACE OF AUGSBURG TO THE CLOSE OF THE COUNCIL OF TRENT (1555–1563).

WE may pass rapidly over the events which intervened between the Peace of Augsburg and the later sessions of the Council of Trent.

In England the period opened with the death of Archbishop Cranmer on March 21, 1556, and the consecration of Pole on the following day. The Pope, however, could not forgive Pole for his candidature for the Papacy or his sympathy with the doctrine of justification, and refused to again appoint him *legatus a latere* till after the death of Peyto, or Petow, Bishop of Salisbury, in 1558.[1] His primacy lasted only two years and a half, till November 18, 1558, when he died, a few hours only after Queen Mary. The same year Elizabeth succeeded, and the papal claims were again repudiated.

Charles resigned the purple in favour of Ferdinand on February 24 of this year (1558), and died (September 21)[2] before the year closed.

Pope Paul IV. died the year after (August 18, 1559), a few months before the consecration of Archbishop Parker (December 17, 1559). His last year was signalized by a return to those vigorous reforms which he projected at the beginning

[1] Hardwick, "Reformation," p. 222, f.n. [Peyto legate, from June 20, 1557, to 1558.]

[2] As the son of Philip and Joanna, Charles V. had succeeded to all the possessions of the houses of Castile, Aragon, and Burgundy. In 1516 he succeeded one grandfather *Ferdinand* in his Spanish dominions, and in 1519 he was elected to the Empire in succession to his other grandfather *Maximilian.* He thus united the power of *Spain,* the wealth of the *Netherlands,* and the dignity of the *Empire.* Charles was the last Emperor crowned in Italy; but, instead of taking the two crowns, one at Rome and the other at Milan, he took both together at Bologna, on February 24, 1530. His power in Italy passed not to his brother Ferdinand, the new Emperor, but to his son Philip, King of Spain.

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of his reign. "Holy Father," Cardinal Pacheco had dared to say, in an assembly of the Inquisition, "reform must first of all begin among ourselves."[1] Eighteen days afterwards (January 27), a Consistory was summoned, in which the Pope denounced the evil lives of his nephews, whose anti-Spanish sympathies had blinded him to their vices, deprived them of all offices, and banished them and their families. Then began those vigorous reforms which made Paul IV. the object of hatred to the Romans. No day was passed without some measure of reformation being carried out. The Inquisition assembled before him every Thursday, and it knew no respect of persons. Many of the reforms afterwards decreed by the Council of Trent were initiated by Paul.[2] Even cardinals were compelled to preach; marriage dispensations were not even mentioned; offices were given by merit, not for money; while in the conduct of public worship the pontiff proceeded so gravely, and with so much dignity, that he seemed a worthy vicar of Christ.[3] It seemed for a moment, if the early part of Paul's reign could be forgotten, that the mantle of Adrian and Marcellus had fallen upon him. In the midst of his reforms he died August 18, 1559,[4] and the Roman populace wreaked their vengeance on his mutilated statue.[5]

Pius IV., the Cardinal de Medici, who was elected Pope on December 25, 1559, was in many points exactly the opposite of Paul. He was of a kindly and affable disposition, anxious for peace, with little sympathy with the methods adopted by the Inquisition, inclined rather to an easy-going, half-worldly life if the circumstances of the age had allowed it. But a reaction had set in, and the regeneration of Catholicism had begun. The old days of nepotism, when the Pope's sons or nephews were exalted into independent princes, had gone for ever. The nephew of the new Pope was a cardinal, but he was also a saint—Carlo Borromeo. Pius began his reign by reversing the policy of his predecessor so far as to recognize

[1] Ranke, i. 229.
[2] See *ibid.*, i. 232–235.
[3] Mocenigo, ap. *ibid.*, i. 233.
[4] On Paul's mismanagement of England, see *ibid.*, "Popes," i. 238, etc.
[5] Sarpi, bk. v. p. 390.

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the resignation of Charles and the accession of Ferdinand as Emperor. Then he brought together the nephews of Paul, who were tried and executed. His next thought was the renewal of the Council, which had been suspended since 1552. Nor is it necessary to suppose that he was driven to this by fear of the projected national synod in France. His own words[1] are, "We desire this Council, we wish it earnestly, and we would have it to be universal. . . . Let what requires reformation be reformed, even though it be our own person and our own affairs. If we have any other thought than to do God service, then may God visit us accordingly.[2] But by this time the position of the Protestants was assured. The Peace of Augsburg had given them religious equality, at least where Protestantism was the received religion, for it was left to the sovereign to determine (unless he was an ecclesiastic) whether the old or the new religion should be adopted. It was impossible, therefore, that the Protestants should submit to the Council, especially if it was avowedly a continuation of that Council of Trent in which their main articles of belief had been condemned as heretical. This was the preliminary difficulty which arose immediately the Bull of Convocation summoning the Council for Easter Day, 1561, was published (November 29, 1560). The Protestants who were assembled at Nuremberg, though the most extensive safe conduct was offered to them, at once refused to attend. Elizabeth of England forbade the nuncio sent to her to cross the sea.[3] Both the Emperor and the king protested against this Council being made a "continuation" of the former, but at the same time ordered their prelates to attend. The King of Spain took exception to the bull on exactly the opposite ground, that it did not clearly state that it was a continuation. The truth was, the bull had been so framed as to please all, and it pleased none.[4]

On March 17, 1561, all the bishops present in Rome were

[1] Quoted by Ranke, i. 249.

[2] Sarpi, p. 398, does not believe the Pope was in earnest, and supposes the Council was talked of to prevent the summoning of the French national synod.

[3] *Ibid.*, p. 412.

[4] *Ibid.*, p. 408.

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ordered to repair to Trent. Gonzaga, Cardinal of Mantua, and Cardinal Puteo were appointed legates with three other cardinals to act with them as presidents, but when three of the presidents arrived on April 16, they found only nine bishops at Trent. The Council was then postponed to *January* 18, 1562. Before the first congregation the Archbishop of Granada raised the question of "continuation," and was assured that the bull intended it, though to conciliate Protestants it was not clearly stated.[1] A new difficulty arose as to the right of the legates to propose motions, against which the Spaniards again protested.[2] But, with this exception, the seventeenth session was held in peace, and the Council duly opened. The business of the next session (XVIII.) was threefold: 1. To prepare an *Index Expurgatorius*. 2. To invite the authors of condemned books to the Council. 3. To give a safe conduct to the Protestants. The first matter was referred to a committee of eighteen, and the safe conduct was to be drawn up by a general congregation. The imperial ambassadors had now arrived. [They suggested that the Council should not be called] a continuation of the Council of 1545, and demanded that the Augsburg Confession should not be put on the Index, that the decrees and doctrines should not be passed till the Protestants arrived, and that the safe conduct should be of the most ample form. All these demands were agreed to, and the session passed its decree "On the Choice of books," with only the Archbishop of Granada protesting (February 26, 1562). The safe conduct was published on the following March 4. The chief discussion in the congregation following the eighteenth session turned on a question connected with a proposed reformation—Is residence of those who have cure of souls necessary by divine or ecclesiastical law?[3] At first sight it seems an unimportant question, but the discussion of it showed that the whole question of papal power was involved. The real issue was—*Is episcopal power an emanation from that of the pontiff, or is its origin divine?*[4]

[1] Waterworth, cliv. [2] *Ibid.*, clvi. [3] *Ibid.*, clxi. *sqq.*

[4] Ranke, i. 251. See, too, Waterworth, pp. clxvi., clxvii. See, too, Wace on the subject, Introduction to Luther's three treatises; Philippson, pp. 473, 511, *sqq.*

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Must bishops reside *jure divino*, or because the Pope orders them to do so? If it is *jure divino*, the Pope could not dispense with non-residence. While the Council was discussing episcopal residence, the first article on the schedule of reformation,[1] the imperial ambassadors, supported by the ambassadors from France, were pressing for the cup for the laity, marriage of priests, the use of the vulgar tongue in church, with other similar demands.[2] A division on the question of residence gave sixty-seven[3] in favour of its being *juro divino*, and seventy-eight against it. A messenger had been sent to Rome to inform the Pope of the general desire for reform, and in the mean while the nineteenth session was held on May 14, but no decree was published. The next session was fixed for June 4, but this again passed no decree. The reason of this was the reception of the Pope's answer on the heads of reformation, ninety-five in number. The Pope left the Council free to decide on all the ninety-five matters except eleven, which affected his own tribunal. The article on residence he refused to allow to be discussed till the Council had recovered its judicial calm. This was an implied censure on two of the three legates who insisted on the *jure divino* residence. The French ambassadors also required that it should be clearly stated that this Council was *not a "continuation"* of the Council of Trent. The Spaniards were equally strong on the other side. The *imperialists agreed with the French*, but a message from the pontiff ordered that the Spanish view should be adopted. The result was the prorogation on June 4, 1562 (Session XX.) The twenty-first session was to deal with the four reserved articles on the Holy Eucharist. The Archbishop of Granada opposed on the ground that the first article—Is communion under both species necessary for all?—had been settled at the Council of Constance. He also revived the question of residence, which by the Pope's orders had been postponed. The imperialists still pressed for reform, the Spaniards for the "continuation" clause; the French protested

[1] Waterworth, clxii.
[2] See Ranke, i. 251.
[3] [Massarelli's report says 67 in favour, 38 against, and 34 more against unless the Pope be first consulted. See Philippson, pp. 473, 474, and Littledale, p. 78.]

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against any implied condemnation of their own use of communicating their king at his coronation in both kinds. Still the decrees on the Holy Eucharist were passed at the twenty-first session on July 16, together with important decrees on reformation, and passed with only small objections as to details.

The preparatory congregations for Session XXII. were more peaceable. Philip ordered his ambassador not to press the "continuation" clause, and the two legates who had disagreed on the matter of residence were reconciled. More than this, the Pope ordered the legates to yield to the Emperor so far as to grant the cup to the laity; but they determined that such a concession was ill advised, and framed a general decree conceding the chalice under certain conditions—a compromise which satisfied both Pope and Emperor. The main business of the next session (XXII., September 17, 1562) was a series of questions connected with the sacrifice of the Mass, on which, after stormy discussions, a decree of nine chapters and nine canons were passed. Amongst the articles of reformation which were passed at the same time was one which abolished the office of quæstor.

Between the twenty-second and twenty-third sessions there is an interval of nearly ten months (September 17, 1562–July 15, 1563), during which the Council was eight times prorogued. The old opposition between the French and the Spaniards showed itself at every turn in the Council and out of it.[1] The old question of *residence* was discussed anew. A new contingent of French bishops was expected, who, it was said, wished to assert the supremacy of the Council over the Pope, to discuss the method of electing popes, and to limit the number of cardinals. The subject before the Council was the Sacrament of *Orders*, and it was in this debate that we find the *Jesuit Lainez* taking a prominent part. The French prelates, fourteen in number, under the Cardinal of Lorraine, arrived on November 13, and on the 23rd the cardinal addressed the Council as to the state of religion in France, and recommended a wise and perfect reformation. Later on,

[1] See Ranke, i. 253.

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on December 4, he delivered his strictures on the canons and decrees under discussion. The real matter in dispute was again whether *the jurisdiction of bishops is from the Pope, or immediately from God.* The discussion still continued, till in March both the senior legates died. A suspension of business followed till the new legates, Cardinals Morone and Navagero, appeared (April 13). In May the Cardinal of Lorraine attacks the deputies and their proceedings, and proposes a schedule of reformation, in which he is supported by the Archbishop of Granada. This was met by the proposal to deal with special national reforms in national synods. The Pope had intended to declare Elizabeth of England a heretic, and her bishops no bishops; but the Spaniards prevented this, not from sympathy with the Protestants, but fearing the murder of the English Romanist bishops. The decrees were finally passed with little opposition on July 15, 1563 (Session XXIII.), and a decree on reformation necessitating residence for all who have cure of souls [and ordering the establishment of a seminary in each diocese for the purpose of training clerics] concluded the session. The residence question was got rid of in this way. Residence was declared to be necessary, but whether it is *jure divino*, or by virtue of the power of the Pope, is a matter of purely speculative interest.

The moving spirit in these final sessions was Cardinal Morone, to whose tact and decision the successful termination of the Council, in spite of the opposition of the Cardinal of Lorraine, is mainly due.[1] The twenty-fourth session, on November 11, 1563, which dealt mainly with *marriage*, and the closing session (XXV.) on December 3 and 4, dealing with the reformation of "regulars," occasioned no serious disagreement, and the eighteen years' Council closed. The Pope is said to have recovered from a dangerous illness at the news of the successful issue of the Council, but the reaction from the strain of the last year showed itself in increased luxury and self-indulgence on his part. But the spirit of reformation within the Catholic Church protested against this: the dagger of the enthusiast Accolti[2] was ready

[1] See Ranke, i. 260. [2] See *ibid.*, "Popes," i. 268.

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even for the Pope himself, though the attempt failed, and Pius IV. lived for two years after the close of the Council of Trent (died December 9, 1565).

LECTURE XVI.

THE SPREAD OF REFORMING OPINIONS UP TO 1563 IN AND AROUND GERMANY.

AT the close of the Council of Trent the Pope had been dethroned in more than half of Europe.[1] England and Scotland, the Scandinavian provinces, a great majority of German states, many of the Swiss cantons, were altogether anti-papal, while Bohemia and Moravia, and Poland, Hungary, Transylvania, the Netherlands, and even France, were leavened by the new doctrines, which sprang from Zürich and Wittenberg and Geneva.[2] Outside Germany it was mainly the *Swiss* form of doctrine which prevailed ; but the new force of Catholicism was beginning to spread, and its work was bound up with the Jesuits, whose centre was at Rome.

GERMANY.

The Empire[3] was a complex body of many states independent of one another, each with its own head. There was as yet no national unity. The states met in the Diet, the "recesses" or decrees of which were binding on all, the Emperor being bound to ratify and enforce them. Originally the Emperor was chosen probably by all these associations, but the right of election gradually got limited to seven electors, whose exclusive right was confirmed by the Golden Bull[4] of 1356. These seven electors were three archbishops and four secular princes.

1. Archbishop of Mentz, Arch-Chancellor of Germany.

[1] Hardwick, "Reformation," p. 301. [2] See Ranke, i. 406, f.n.
[3] Robertson, i. 132, and note xlii. p. 542.
[4] Explain, and see Putter, vol. i. [and Bryce, p. 230.]

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2. Archbishop of Cologne, Arch-Chancellor of Italy.

3. Archbishop of Trèves, Arch-Chancellor of the kingdom of Arles.

The four secular princes represented all the orders which composed the highest class of German nobility.

4. The King of Bohemia, who was cupbearer.

5. The Count Palatine of the Rhine, who was seneschal.

6. The Duke of Saxony, marshal.

7. Margrave of Brandenburg, chamberlain.[1]

Of these seven electors the three archbishops and the count palatine had their seats on the *Rhine*, the remaining three on the *Elbe*.

But outside the electoral college were princes lay and ecclesiastical, and free cities which held directly of the Emperor. These states and cities (not including the electorates and the Emperor's hereditary dominions of Austria and Burgundy) were divided into *six circles*, viz. *Franconia*, *Swabia*, *Bavaria*, *Upper Rhine*, *Lower Rhine* (Westphalia), and *Saxony;* to which were added by Maximilian in 1512 four new circles, *Austria*, *Burgundy*, the *electoral circle of the Rhine* (which included the four Rhenish electorates), and the *circle of Upper Saxony*, which included the electorates of Saxony and Brandenburg. Bohemia was not mentioned with the other six electorates, nor was it included in the circles. The King of Bohemia seems to have had no voice in the Diet except in the election of an Emperor.[2] All this organization was, however, more apparent than real. Germany was still under feudalism more than any other European nation. There were constant feuds between the petty sovereigns, and the commercial towns in the north of Germany (Cologne and twenty-nine other towns) had been compelled to join together in the Hanseatic League to protect their commerce.

So far as Germany was concerned,[3] reforming opinions radiated from Wittenberg in *Electoral Saxony*, where from

[1] [See the lines of Marsilius of Padua, quoted in Bryce's "Holy Roman Empire," p. 231, note.]

[2] See Putter, vol. i. pp. 355, 356.

[3] See Hardwick, "Reformation," pp. 67 *sqq*.

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the first the Elector, Frederick the Wise, had favoured Luther. When Frederick died (May 5, 1525), he was succeeded by his brother, John the Steadfast (died 1532), whose grandson, John Frederick II., "the Mediate," succeeded in 1554 (his father, John Frederick I., having died March 3, 1554, only eighteen months after his release from captivity). All these electors favoured Luther, and Saxony became the stronghold of Lutheranism. The electorate of *Brandenburg*, which was included with Electoral Saxony in the circle of Upper Saxony, did not become Lutheran till the death of Joachim I. (1535).

Ducal Saxony was less ready to accept the new teaching. Duke George was the bitter enemy of Luther, but on his death, in 1539, he was succeeded by his brother Henry, who favoured Luther. It was the son of Duke Henry, Maurice, who first of all fought on the Catholic side in the Schmalkaldic War in order to get possession of the electorate, then played fast and loose at the time of the Augsburg Interim, and finally came forward as the Protestant champion and deliverer of the Elector and Landgrave (1552). Under Maurice the dukedom and the electorate were united, and Protestantism was triumphant in both. Further north in Lower Saxony, Lüneberg by 1527, Mecklenburg, Holstein, Pomerania, and Anhalt by 1530 became Lutheran.

From Saxony Lutheranism spread west to *Hesse* in the Upper Rhine circle. But the Landgrave after the Marburg Conference (1529) went over to the side of Zwingli. He was father-in-law to Maurice of Saxony, and, with the Elector of Saxony, was taken captive in the Schmalkaldic War at the battle of Mühlberg (1547).

From North Germany the Reformation passed to *Franconia*, where not only the government became Protestant, but the Bishops of Bamberg and Würzburg became Lutheranized or lost their influence. In *Bavaria* the duke was compelled in 1556 to make concessions to those who held the Augsburg Confession. In *Swabia* several states, of which the most important was Würtemburg, joined the Schmalkaldic League. In *Austria* the nobility had been Lutheranized through the

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university of Wittenberg; the colleges were there filled with Protestants till, it is said, not a thirtieth of the people remained Catholic.[1] Meanwhile the Archbishop of Salzburg, being on the confines of Austria and Bavaria, struggled in vain to retain the hill-country.

On the Rhine the progress was no less rapid. In the *Palatinate*, where the Swiss rather than the Saxon form prevailed, we find the Elector Frederick formally abjuring the Pope in 1546; and for the next sixty years, till the outbreak of the Thirty Years' War, the Eucharistic controversy raged there. The Heidelberg or Palatine Catechism was published in 1563 under the Elector Frederick III. (1559–1576), and follows the "Confessio Variata" on the Eucharistic question, but is said to combine "the fearlessness of Luther, the lucidity of Melanchthon, and the fire of Calvin."[2] (Klewitz (Klebitius), the Crypto-Calvinist, was a Heidelberg professor.)

The kingdom of *Bohemia* was already prepared by the Calixtines (Hussites) for a rejection of Catholicism, and though Luther had little sympathy with their sacramentarian views, he sanctioned their Confession of Faith in 1532; and they are found sending a contingent to the Schmalkaldic League. When the war came to an end, they were ejected by royal edict of May 4, 1548. Later on, the strength of the Jesuits and the Counter-Reformation prevented any real spread of their views; and a vigorous and effective persecution under Ferdinand II. (1627) practically extirpated Protestantism.

Even in the territories of the *ecclesiastical electors* the doctrines spread, the archbishops either resisting in vain or making damaging concessions, while in the circle of the Lower Rhine, or *Westphalia*, the Protestants found little resistance.

In the NETHERLANDS, included in the Burgundy circle, Calvinism had taken the place of Lutheranism. But when Philip II. succeeded Charles in the Netherlands (October 25, 1555), the irritation and excitement increased. The Spanish garrison, the increase of the episcopate, and, above all, the work of the Inquisition, prepared the way for the revolt of 1568, and the forty years of troubles which followed. Though

[1] Ranke's "Popes," i. 399. [2] See Hardwick's "Reformation," p. 160, f.n.

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it is said that by 1562 thirty-six thousand Protestants had been put to death, yet a formal confession was drawn up, and the Protestants were tolerated, if not admitted to religious equality.[1]

So rapid had been the spread of reforming opinions in the Empire that a Venetian ambassador calculated that in 1558 *nine-tenths* of the German people were anti-Catholic.[2] Twenty years later, in 1580, another Venetian writes that the number of Protestants [in France] had diminished by seventy per cent. (*i.e.* $\frac{73}{100}$ Catholics, $\frac{27}{100}$ Protestants), this change being the work of the Jesuits.[3]

Denmark had been Lutheranized by Bugenhagen. Frederic I. (1523–1534) had secretly encouraged the Reformation as a counterpoise to the Church system. The nobles were won over, and Lutheranism received toleration in the edict of 1527 (Diet of Odense). The Faroe Isles became Lutheran, and in Iceland the last representatives of Catholicism disappeared by 1554.

In *Sweden* Gustavus Vasa (1523–1560) had from the beginning of his reign prepared for an attack upon the Church. There was nothing of moral protest or desire for reform, however. Protestantism was a political force which might be used against the powerful clergy. He began by causing preachers to attack abuses, indulgences, etc.; but in the edict of 1526 he showed plainly that he sought "not the good, but the goods, of the Church;" and in the next year (1527) he seized upon the property of the Church, and publicly authorized the preaching of Lutheranism. For the time the Church was reduced to insignificance, and Lutheranism rapidly spread. It was a great political revolution which created modern Sweden, and the religious question was its instrument.[4]

France, at the close of the Council of Trent, had already plunged into the religious war, which lasted till the Edict of Nantes (1598). In the early days of Francis I. the Humanists were encouraged, though the Sorbonne looked askance at

[1] Häusser, p. 279.
[2] *Ibid.*, i. 503.
[3] Ranke's "Popes," i. 401.
[4] See Häusser, pt. ii. ch. xii.

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them. But after the defeat of Pavia (1525), and the king's imprisonment in Spain, the Pope (Clement VII.) and the Parliament urged Francis to persecute the Reformers, and the persecutions of 1528 and 1535 were the result. Francis's son, Henry II. (1547–1559), who succeeded him, urged on by the Guises, continued the same policy. But reforming views, which had now taken a definitely Calvinistic form, rapidly took shape, and in 1559 (May 28) a Calvinistic Confession of Faith was published. Henry had allied himself with Maurice for the liberation of the imprisoned Protestants at the very time that he was persecuting the Huguenots in France. His son, Francis II., husband of Mary Stuart, reigned but a few months (died December 5, 1560), and on his death the real power passed from the Guises to the queen-mother, Catherine de Medici (niece of Clement VII.), the new king, her son, Charles IX., being but ten years old. The Huguenots at this time are said to have numbered two thousand congregations, and in January 17, 1562, by the Edict of St. Germain, the policy of persecution was abandoned, and a modified toleration allowed. Six weeks afterwards (March 1, 1562), the *massacre of Vassy* took place, and began the religious wars.

Of the three great Reformers, Zwingli had died on the battle-field of Kappel (1531); Luther, a few months before the Schmalkaldic War (1546); while Calvin published his "Institutes" in 1536, and lived to see the beginning of the religious war which, almost without intermission, lasted from 1562 to 1598 (Calvin died May 27, 1564; Melanchthon, April 19, 1560).

LECTURE XVII.

THE RESOURCES OF THE PAPACY FOR THE COMING STRUGGLE —α. THE COUNCIL OF TRENT; β. THE INQUISITION.

A. THE *Council of Trent* stands as the meeting-point of the mediæval and modern Roman theology, and also as the meeting-point between the Reformation and the Counter-Reformation. In it the mediæval doctrine and discipline were

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reset. It was the admission of the need of reformation, and the protest against the form which the Reformation had assumed elsewhere. In the earlier sessions, held during the Schmalkaldic War, the doctrinal system of the Roman Church was consolidated; while in the later sessions the hierarchical system was established both in theory and practice. The *Professio Fidei Tridentinæ* of Pius IV. and the "Catechism of the Council of Trent," published by his successor, Pius V. (1566), were only the putting in force of the conclusions arrived at by the Council.

1. *Was the Council of Trent a failure?* Only if we suppose that it was intended to bring back the Protestants. But no one, Catholic or Protestant, could have supposed this possible. It might have been possible when a Council was first talked of. But when the conferences failed, it was plain to the world that the schism was beyond healing. The Catholics could not treat Lutheranism as an open question, to be argued on the basis of the Bible, and the Bible only; the Protestants naturally could not submit to a tribunal by which their cause was prejudged, and in which the Pope was the dominant influence.

2. *What did the Council do for the Roman Church?* (*a*) *As to doctrine.* It formulated and defined the doctrines which had gradually been crystallizing in the mediæval Church, and gave them the stamp of authority. Such a formulation had two results. (i.) It made a definite basis on which the Church of Rome was to work, a doctrinal programme, as it were, for those who were to be its champions in the approaching struggle. This was its strength. But (ii.) it stereotyped all that was most Roman and least Catholic, and made the severance final, not only between Roman Catholic and Lutheran, or Zwinglian, or Calvinist, but between Tridentine Christianity and those who claim to hold unbroken union in faith and life with primitive Christianity. (*β*) *As to discipline.* It was in a very real sense a reforming Council. Its decrees of reformation breathed the new spirit which was regenerating the Roman Church. It was to this that we must trace the fact that the Roman Church, after so grave a crisis, became

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again "a conquering power,"[1] and was able to wrest from Protestantism some of its hard-won triumphs. It follows, however, from this that it is unfair to hold up the Council of Trent as that against which Protestantism protested, or from which it revolted, since the Council of Trent was the attempt of the Roman Church to remove the abuses against which the conscience of Christendom protested. It was "the resurrection of the Church."[2] (γ) The Council of Trent indicated a change of front in the attitude of the Papacy towards the Reformation. There is nothing of toleration, but the persecuting methods of the Inquisition begin to yield to a different policy. The new policy is as active and aggressive as the old, but Protestants are to be converted instead of burnt—at least, burning is a last resort. Preaching, education, and the confessional are the new weapons to be employed.

3. *Did the Council of Trent represent the feeling of the Roman Catholic Church?* Elements of discord within the pale of the Roman Church showed themselves very plainly, though a breach was avoided by the adroitness of the papal legates. These disputes mainly turned on the relation of the Pope to the Council or to the episcopal order, though the doctrinal question of the nature of Justification seems to have been the cause of disagreement which led to the transference of the Council to Bologna. The question of the Papacy appeared first in the discussions on the "representing" clause, which really involved the question—Is the power of the Council derived from the Pope or the Church? It was the same question in a new form which was discussed as to whether the duty of bishops to reside was *jure divino* or no, and even more obviously when the question of the jurisdiction of bishops came forward. The Lutheran theory, which reappears in many Dissenting sects, made the minister the representative of the people; the papal view made him the delegate of the Pope. And both views were one-sided and incomplete. The "Spanish War" had for its object the exaltation of the episcopate as the counterpoise to the Papacy. The Germans would have carried out a thorough reform. The French

[1] Ranke, vol. i. p. 395.

[2] Philippson, p. 616.

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were ready to fall back on the secular arm. All in different ways were anti-papal; but Frenchmen, Spaniards, and imperialists were incapable of more than a temporary union. The papal legates outwitted all, abandoned no claim, yet satisfied all, and by so doing triumphed over all. This was the greatness of Pius IV. and his legate, Cardinal Morone.

4. *Was the Council generally accepted by the Catholic nations?* We have here to distinguish beween the *canons* and the *decrees*. The canons of a General Council are binding on the Church. To reject or resist them is to be heretical. But decrees which have to do with discipline have to be published in each country before they are binding there. It was in the decrees of reformation specially that the papal claims came into collision with national liberties. The question of the Royal Supremacy, which had led to the separation of England from Rome, had its echo in the other European nationalities, and, by consequence, the acceptance of the decrees of Trent was by no means a matter of course.[1] The Emperor Ferdinand by his representatives accepted the decrees, and received in return the concession of the cup to the laity (1564). But the Diet refused, the Archbishop of Mentz declaring plainly that they accepted the doctrine, but not the discipline. The ambassadors of the Kings of Poland and Portugal, of the Duke of Savoy, of the Venetian republic, and of the Catholic cantons of Switzerland accepted the Council, as did also the Cardinal of Lorraine. But the government of Catherine de Medici refused to ratify his act. The two main reasons given were the prohibition of livings given *in commendam* to laymen, and the fear of the Huguenots, to whom the publication of the decrees of Trent would mean a proclamation of war. But other reasons lay behind. The decrees trenched on the rights of the Gallican Church and the rights of the Crown. On the one side, *the Church* resented the claim of Rome to universal jurisdiction, and to the right of interfering in French dioceses. On the other side, *the Crown* refused to abandon its right of appeal, or to admit the right of the Pope to visitations, patronage, testamentary jurisdiction, etc. Still

[1] See Philippson, pp. 589 *sqq*.

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less could it admit the right of the Pope to excommunicate kings, or recognize the divine character of tithes. From 1576 to 1614 many attempts were made, without result, to persuade the French nation to accept the decrees and canons of Trent; and, according to Philippson, they have never been accepted in France to the present day.[1]

The Count de Luna (the Spanish ambassador) alone among those present at the close of the Council refused to accept it. And his action was supported by Philip. The doctrinal definitions were unhesitatingly accepted; the articles of reformation touched the royal power. Certain chapters also seemed to limit the rights of the Spanish Inquisition, while the extension given to the Pope's jurisdiction conflicted, as in England and France, with the Royal Supremacy. It was not till 1565 that the decrees of Trent were published in Spain, and then it was on the express condition that these decrees should imply no change or modification in existing rights, and that the king, in Sicily at least, should be recognized, as of old, as the *legatus natus* of the Pope.

The republic of Venice accepted the Council on similar terms; the Catholic cantons of Switzerland accepted it with the sole condition that they should not be bound to enforce its decrees on the Protestant cantons. The kingdoms of *Poland* and *Portugal* alone accepted it without conditions.

B. *The Inquisition.*—The reforming spirit which showed itself in the Council of Trent, and afterwards, by the aid of the Jesuits, triumphed in many parts of Europe over the Reformation, had already shown itself in the revived Inquisition.

As early as 1536,[2] Pope Paul III. had gathered round him a knot of men well known for the severity of their lives and their desire for real reformation; men like Gaspar Contarini, Sadolet, Reginald Pole, Ghiberti, and Caraffa; men whom he had on his accession raised to the cardinalate, almost all of them members of the Oratory of Divine Love, and many of them holding strongly the doctrine of Justification by Faith. In 1537, a commission of four cardinals and five

[1] Philippson, p. 594.
[2] See *ibid.*, pp. 173 *sqq.*; Ranke, i. 110, 157, *sqq.*

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prelates was nominated for the reformation of abuses, and they dared to attack the abuses of the Papacy itself. Gradually they fell into disfavour, and some of them became suspected of heresy. Meanwhile a new method of reformation was to be tried, and this was the revival of the Inquisition. The mainspring of this new movement was Caraffa, the founder of the Theatines. The Inquisition, introduced in the twelfth century and entrusted to the Dominicans in the thirteenth, had declined in the fifteenth. In Spain, since 1477, it had been revived and worked under the secular power; but in Italy it had little organization and no power. Caraffa's narrow and intolerant zeal had been fired by what he had seen in Spain when papal nuncio, and he dreamed of a Roman Inquisition with universal jurisdiction. The proposal was welcomed by Paul III., but opposed by Cardinal Pole and many of the cardinals, who still hoped much from a General Council. But Caraffa triumphed, and by the bull of July 21, 1542 (*Licet ab initio*), a supreme commission of the Holy Office was appointed, consisting of six cardinals, under Caraffa as inquisitor-general.[1] Among its first victims were Bernardino Ochino and Peter Martyr, who were compelled to fly the country. The Pope, Paul III., was powerless to oppose the force he had created.[2] In 1549 Michael Ghislieri (afterwards Pius V.), a man after Caraffa's own heart, became commissary-general, and the Pope, Julius III., became their tool. When, on May 23, 1555, Caraffa ascended the throne as Pope Paul IV., and when next year Charles resigned the crown of Spain to his son Philip, the triumph of the Inquisition seemed secured.

But the anti-Spanish policy of Caraffa, and the war with Spain, prevented such a catastrophe. Paul hated the Habsburgs, and the Roman Inquisition pursued its course alone. Pole, who had reconciled England to the Roman see, was summoned to Rome to answer the charge of heresy. Morone, the hero of the later sessions of the Council, was in 1557 imprisoned with two bishops in St. Angelo, where he remained

[1] For the four rules see Ranke, i. p. 159.
[2] Cf. Philippson, p. 191.

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till the death of Paul two years later.[1] An *Index* of prohibited books was drawn up in 1559, containing (α) a list of heretical writers; (β) a list of heretical works specially prohibited; (γ) a list of anonymous writings since 1519. As Paul's anti-Spanish policy cut him off from Spain, so his dislike of the Jesuits[2] prevented any real co-operation between the Jesuits and the Inquisition. In the first place, the Jesuits were known as "the Spanish priests;" and, secondly, they were a dangerous rival of the Dominicans, to whom the Inquisition specially belonged. Caraffa and Ignatius de Loyola had been intimate in former days, and seem to have disagreed about some changes suggested by Loyola in the Theatine order. Later on we find Caraffa trying to isolate Lainez from the other Jesuits and to detain him in the Vatican. After the days of Caraffa, the Inquisition was able to avail itself of Jesuit espionage. Under Pius IV. it obtained a great extension of privileges, and under Pius V., "frère Michel de l'Inquisition,"[3] it persecuted the Vaudois in Calabria and in Piedmont. But the methods of the Inquisition were methods of extermination; the methods which ultimately triumphed were methods of conversion. In Spain and Italy the Inquisition was possible; in Germany a different agency had to be used.

LECTURE XVIII.

THE RESOURCES OF THE PAPACY FOR THE COMING STRUGGLE —γ. THE NEW ORDERS OF THE REFORMATION PERIOD.

[Mr. Moore seems to have taken much of the information contained in the following lecture from Hagenbach, chapter xxxv. He also uses Philippson, book i., to a certain extent; but reference may still profitably be made to it, particularly as regards the Jesuits, whom Mr. Moore had not space to describe fully. Ranke ("History of the Popes," vol. i. bks. 2 and 5) has a compressed but admirable sketch of the whole subject, particularly of the origin and advance of the Jesuits. For details as to all these religious orders, see Hélyot's "Histoire des Ordres Monastiques," which originally appeared (1714–19) in six quarto volumes, and has several

[1] Philippson, p. 200. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 99. [3] *Ibid.*, p. 214.

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times been reprinted. A revised and enlarged edition, under the title of "Dictionnaire des Ordres Religieux," fills vols. xx.–xxiii. of the Abbé Migne's "Encyclopédie Théologique." For the Protestant sects of the Reformation, see lecture vi. of Beard's "Hibbert Lectures."]

C. THE new life and energy of the Reformation showed itself both within and without the Papal Church in a variety of forms. It showed itself in the new sects and in the new orders, but it is a remarkable fact that *every new sect was a source of weakness to Protestantism, while every new order was a source of strength to the Papacy.*[1]

From the first the Saxon and the Swiss Reformers were opposed. Later on the German-speaking and French-speaking Swiss were divided into two religions. But Lutherans, Zwinglians, and Calvinists were by no means an exhaustive division of the non-Catholic party, which also included Antinomians, Anabaptists, and Libertines, Münzer and John of Leyden, Carlstadt and the Socialists; curious views like that of the Schwenkfeldtians; Pantheistic mystics like Sebastian Franck, whom Luther called "a blasphemer, the peculiar and favourite mouthpiece of the devil, a fanatic who cares for nothing but spirit, spirit, spirit, and understands nought of Word and Sacrament;"[2] [anti-Protestant] rationalists like Thamer and Wicel. And all these, however slight their connection with Luther, served to bring discredit on the movement, and to give the papal party some colour for the assertion that the Reformation was a mere revolt against authority in the interest of private judgment.

On the other hand, the new orders[3] within the Roman Church were the strength of the "reform without schism" party. First in time were the *Theatines.*

The *Theatines* were called after Caraffa, at that time known as Theate, from the name of his archbishopric (Chieti). The original idea was due to Cajetan, who wished "to reform the world without any person being aware that he (the reformer)

[1] On the power of Rome to moderate and direct new movements, see Macaulay's review of Ranke.

[2] Hagenbach, ii. 387, 388.

[3] [Notice that many of them were "regular clerks," their chief object being to act on the clergy, and restore them to their original high estate.]

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was in the world."[1] Cajetan and Caraffa took a vow of poverty, and lived together with a few friends. On June 29, 1524, the order was sanctioned by Clement VII.; its members devoted themselves to preaching and the cure of souls and missionary work.

The *Capuchin* Friars, or reformed Franciscans, were next in order. The orders had always been the nurseries of reformation, and this new order, founded by Matthew de Bassi, and recognized formally by the Pope in 1528, was no exception to the rule. As popular preachers they took their part in opposing Lutheranism, though one distinguished member of the order, Bernardino Ochino, was banished for heresy.

Both the Theatines and the Capuchins devoted themselves to works of mercy, the Theatines devoting themselves specially to hospitals and prisons, the Capuchins to those who were suffering from the plague or other contagious diseases.

Two other orders, or, more definitely brotherhoods of mercy, were worth mentioning. First, the BARNABITES, or Congregation of Regular Clerks of St. Paul, who were sanctioned by Pope Clement in 1533. Their special work was to care for the neglected or destitute in time of war, for which purpose they were dispensed from diocesan jurisdiction. In 1545 they moved to the Church of St. Barnabas at Milan, and were hence called Barnabites. The other benevolent order was that of the SOMASKERS, so called from Somasca, a village between Milan and Bergamo. This order of "regular clerks" was founded about 1528 by a Venetian nobleman, who devoted himself to the care of "waifs and strays," for whom he established refuges throughout Italy, at Verona, Brescia, Ferrara, Como, Pavia, Milan, and Genoa. This order was confirmed by the Pope in 1540.

All these orders, while they showed the new life that was stirring within the Roman Church, had little direct part in the work of the Counter-Reformation. It was different with the ORATORIANS and the JESUITS.

So far we have noticed only those orders which, though

[1] Hagenbach, ii. 402.

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they were a proof of the spiritual activity of the Church of Rome, had little part in the active work of the Counter-Reformation. Theatines, Capuchins, Paulines and Barnabites, Somaskers, and the saintly Theresa of Avila, with her Unshod Carmelitesses (approved by the Pope in 1562), were not fitted for a great campaign. But there were other resources ready for the conflict besides the revived Inquisition, viz. the Oratorians and the Jesuits.

The *Oratorians* in their work were widely distinguished from the Jesuits. Their work was silent, deep, and lasting. It appealed to the deeper spiritual natures, whereas the Jesuit work embraced all. If one extended the boundaries of the Church, the other strengthened the spiritual life of Churchmen. Philip Neri, the Florentine (born July 22, 1515, died May 25, 1595), was marked in his earliest years by his rare piety and the cheerful geniality of his disposition. After his ordination to the priesthood (May 23, 1551), he instituted prayer-meetings, which were brightened with religious music. It is to the "oratories" of St. Philip that the "oratorio" owes its birth. This cheerfulness he carried with him everywhere, to the sick in the hospitals or in their homes, no less than in his devotional meetings. His motto, we are told,[1] was, "Be cheerful, or all thou doest is nought." His "oratory" grew up gradually, by his power of attracting young men to him, and seeing the bent of each mind, and adapting himself to it. There was nothing of the subtlety of the Jesuits, but there was the attractiveness of a deep and real spiritual life. And his method was that which accorded with a simple devotional nature. He did not lecture—he conversed; he did not command—he advised. This was the secret of his influence as a guide of souls. Perhaps his greatest follower was the ecclesiastical historian, Baronius, whom St. Philip appointed to give lectures on history in the Oratory.[2] Later on we shall find the Oratorians playing an important part in the revival of priestly life in the seventeenth century.[3]

[1] Hagenbach, ii. 410.
[2] Ranke, i. 384. The order was confirmed by the Pope in 1575.
[3] See a volume with that title by H. L. Sidney Lear.

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The *Jesuits*, however, were the great power of the Counter-Reformation. Their founder, the Spaniard Don Inigo (Ignatius) Lopez de Recalde (born at the castle of Loyola in the Basque province of Guipuscoa, 1491), had transferred to Christ and the Blessed Virgin all the chivalrous ideas with which he had started in life. Wounded at the siege of Pampeluna (1521), he exchanged the adventures of Amadis for the life of Christ and the saints. Then it was that, after a period of spiritual conflict [at Manresa], and an unsuccessful journey to Jerusalem (1523), he became associated with Faber and Francis Xavier in Paris about the time of the Diet of Augsburg (1530). By 1534 four other names had been added to the little society—James Lainez of Almanza, Alphonso Salmeron of Toledo, Nicholas Bobadilla, a Spaniard, and a Portuguese named Rodriguez. These seven men vowed to renounce the world and [carry out a spiritual crusade in Palestine, this vow being pronounced on August 15, 1534, in the church of Montmartre]. Soon after, with a few others, in 1537, they were ordained priests, and were recognized [as an order of regular clerks] by a bull of Paul III. (September 27, 1540). They were bound not only by the monastic vows of poverty, chastity, and obedience, but also by the vow of *obedience* to the Pope.[1] They thus became the servants of the Pope, and by Loyola's advice assumed the name of Jesuits.[2] Three years after their first establishment, their institute was unconditionally confirmed (March 14, 1543). The pilgrimage being impossible, the Jesuits began a crusade against Protestantism. Their method was threefold —to preach, to hear confessions, and to instruct youth. It was a practical system, though Ignatius was a visionary, and the result was success far beyond that of the two great orders, the Dominicans and the Franciscans.

The rapid increase in their numbers led to a development. The "professed," bound by the four vows, were soon surrounded by those whom they were training—the "scholastici," or "novices." But the "professed," being under vow of implicit

[1] Philippson, p. 55.

[2] For the reason, see Hardwick, 305, f.n., "A spiritual knighthood." "Jesuiten" was altered by the Protestants into "Jesuwider" (Hagenbach, ii. 407).

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submission to the Pope, might be transferred at any period, and hence a new class grew up, called "*spiritual coadjutors*," bound only by the three vows (poverty, chastity, obedience), from which they might be absolved; and later on still we hear of "*secular coadjutors*," bound also by the three vows, whose privilege it was to [manage the temporal affairs] of the order. Thus we get finally (1) novices, or "scholastici;" (2) secular coadjutors; (3) spiritual coadjutors; and (4) the professed (four vows).[1]

From Rome as a centre, the Jesuits proceeded to the Tyrol, to Parma, Piacenza, and Calabria. In Germany they established themselves in Austria and Bavaria, the city of Ingolstadt (in Bavaria) being assigned to them by the duke in 1556. Cologne admitted them; so did Lyons, though the Parliament opposed them. Even as early as 1542 they had gone to the East Indies, and established a college at Goa. St. Ignatius, who had been elected General, died July 31, 1556, and by that time the Jesuits numbered a thousand members, and could boast a hundred colleges. Of their thirteen provinces, seven (Castile, ten colleges; Aragon, five; Andalusia, five, etc.) were in Spain, three (Rome and Naples, Sicily, North Italy) in Italy, one in France, and two (Vienna, Prague and Ingolstadt, and the Netherlands) in Germany.[2]

By the time of the death of Ignatius, the Jesuits had established themselves in Germany in three metropolitan cities—Vienna, Cologne, and Ingolstadt. From Vienna they spread through Austria, establishing themselves in Prague (1556), Tyrnau (1561), Brünn, and Moravia. From Cologne the two other electoral archbishoprics, Trèves and Mayence, were colonized. Even at Spires they secured a settlement, while from Würzburg, where they were received in 1559, they spread to Franconia. Munich became by their efforts the Rome of Germany, and Dillingen, in 1563, was given over to their hands. Thus within ten years of the death of Ignatius, and within three years of the close of the Council of Trent, the Jesuits had effectually checked the advance of Protestantism in Germany.[3]

[1] See Philippson, pp. 138 *sqq.* [2] Ranke, i. 177; Philippson, pp. 101, 102.
[3] See Ranke's remarks, i. 410-418.

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[The lecture ends with the following scattered jottings from and references to the first volume of Ranke's "Popes," which do not seem to have been utilized for his lectures, judging from his pupils' note-books :—]

I. Bavaria under Duke Albert. Return to Catholicism (1570–1571).[1]

II. The Archiepiscopal Electorates.[2]
Resistance of Archbishop of Cologne (1577).[3]
in Bavaria.[4]
in Austria.[5]
Archbishop of Cologne MARRIES (1582).[6] War in the Palatinate.[7] Triumph of Catholicism.
Upper Germany. Bishop Julius of Würzburg (1573–1587)[8] wavers, but on Archbishop of Cologne's failure, becomes Catholic. Acquaviva's report (1586).
Other German princes waver.[9] First conversion, Jacob of Baden (1590).[10]

III. The Netherlands.[11] War (1583). Victory (1584).

IV. France. Reaction against Protestantism (1562).[12] Paris *v.* Lyons. War (1568). Massacre of Huguenots (1572). Concessions to them (1573).[13] The League.[14]

[Mr. Moore has noted, at the end of the table of contents of this course of lectures, two sets of events which belong to his subject, but which he expressly marked as "not written," and which were probably never delivered for lack of time. These are "France and its Religious Wars," 1562–1598, and "The Revolt in the Netherlands," 1568–1609.]

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[1] Ranke, i. 419–425. [2] *Ibid.*, i. 425–431. [3] *Ibid.*, i. 446.
[4] *Ibid.*, i. 448. [5] *Ibid.*, i. 448, 449. [6] *Ibid.*, i. 475.
[7] *Ibid.*, i. 477. [8] *Ibid.*, i. 482–485. [9] *Ibid.*, i. 496.
[10] *Ibid.*, i. 500.
[11] See the summary, *ibid.*, i. 469; also 432–437, 442–445, 461–475.
[12] *Ibid.*, i. 437–442. [13] *Ibid.*, i. 444. [14] *Ibid.*, 500–509, i. 519–523.

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II.

PAPERS.

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I.

THE CONDEMNATION OF JOHN WICLIF.

(*Guardian, May* 21, 1884.)

THERE are a good many people who, rather from intellectual inability to see the bearings of an argument than from any moral cause, are in the habit of catching at any conclusions which seem to be in agreement with their own, and assuming that those who hold such conclusions are to be supported through thick and thin. It is to men so constituted that we probably owe the attempts, which just now are so much in fashion, to galvanize into life almost forgotten theological controversies. Careless of the strife which such attempts must arouse, their only anxiety is to flaunt before the world, under cover of some great name, their own opinions. Luther has been commemorated; Zwingli would have been, only English people knew so little about him; Admiral Coligny is to have a statue in Paris, and England is expected to contribute some £1300. But the happiest idea of all is a quingentenary of Wiclif. Here at least we have an Englishman, and one whose name every one has heard. Here is a man who was nothing if he was not the enemy of the Pope, who opposed Transubstantiation, who translated the Bible into the English of his day, a man, too, who, if he did not, like the Wittenberg friar, begin the fight single-handed, fought in a great cause, with king and Parliament at his back. Moreover, he never seceded from the Church of his baptism; he died almost in the very act of hearing Mass, if he was not actually celebrating it. Surely it must be the extreme of intolerance and ecclesiastical narrowness to refuse to sympathize with such a man.

It is a curious thing that these commemorations have been

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hampered all through by chronological difficulties. Last year we were asked to celebrate the four hundredth anniversary of Luther's birth. But it is absolutely uncertain in what year Luther was born. Roman Catholic authorities settled the question on astrological grounds. Protestants settled it by opposition to the Roman view, and therefore, though indirectly, on astrological grounds also. Luther's mother was doubtful about the year, as she told Melanchthon, though she knew the month and the day. There are people who believe that the Luther commemoration has finally settled the question. It might be supposed that with Wiclif no such difficulty would arise. For, though the year of his birth is conjectural, the quingentenary festival is a commemoration of his death, which took place on December 31, 1384. But the committee, in their wisdom, have decided not only to celebrate the quingentenary of his death, but also to commemorate his condemnation at Blackfriars on May 21. The difficulty here is one which ordinary people might not notice. If he was condemned on May 21, and died on December 31, it would seem quite natural that the last six months of the present year should be dedicated to a Wiclif Quincentenary Commemoration. Only, unfortunately, Wiclif was condemned two years and a half before his death—viz. on May 21, 1382—which is already 502 years ago; and, therefore, the quingentenary, so far as the condemnation is concerned, should have been in 1882.

Now, we do not propose at present to attempt an estimate of Wiclif's character and place in history. His claim on Englishmen and English Churchmen as a translator of the Bible, as the vigorous assailant of abuses, and the no less vigorous antagonist of papal encroachments, is so real that it will need much of positive false teaching to counterbalance it. Nor must we be diverted from a true estimate of his work by a natural recoil from the one-sided and unreasoning championship of some modern writers. Wiclif is the chosen hero of the Chichele Professor of History at Oxford. In some lectures published two years ago we were told that "to Wiclif we owe, more than to any one person that can be mentioned, our

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English language, our English Bible, and our reformed religion;" more than that, "Wiclif may easily be proved to have implicitly put forth a whole system of doctrine, almost identical with that of our Prayer-book and Articles;" and finally we are told that, at the Reformation, the "English people, though they little dreamt of it, owed far more to Wiclif than to Luther." And even if England had owed far less to Wiclif than she does, this last statement would have been undeniably true. Dr. Lechler, of Leipzig, is also a champion of Wiclif, but his work is of a very different calibre. In his two volumes, which have been translated into English by Dr. Peter Lorimer, he has done real and valuable work. He has said the last word on Wiclif, till the publication of his writings will allow Wiclif to speak for himself. The numerous "Lives of Wiclif" which are now appearing, "Wiclif Anecdotes," and fly-sheets in which the "Morning Star of the Reformation" holds a conspicuous place, all rest on Dr. Lechler as their foundation, and serve as an advertisement of his labours. But there is a greater work begun, for which students of Church history will owe a lasting debt of gratitude to the Wiclif Society, long after the momentary excitement which called it into existence has passed away. The complete works of John Wiclif are at last being published, and may be expected to be completed in the course of the next ten years. Two volumes, containing the polemical writings, have appeared as a first instalment, published under the careful, but somewhat foreign, supervision of Dr. Buddensieg. Dr. Loserth, Professor of History at Czernowitz, approaching the subject from another side, has traced the influence of Wiclif on Hus and the Bohemians. And yet in spite of all that has been done, it is impossible for us fairly to estimate Wiclif's place in the history of the English Church. The little-known "Summa Theologiæ," including the introductory "De Dominio," has never been printed, and without it, or with only second-hand knowledge of it, we cannot determine what Wiclif really was. It is easy, of course, to take one side of his work, and to construct his whole theology from this, and that is what is usually done. He opposed the Pope, he

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rejected Transubstantiation. He must have been a Protestant Reformer. But this is neither history nor poetry; and the fact remains as true now as it was fourteen years ago when Dr. Shirley wrote it, that "on most of us the dim image" of Wiclif "looks down, like the portrait of the first of a long line of kings, without personality or expression." Was he the champion of English liberties, or was he a dangerous socialist, who, at a time when discontent was breaking out into rebellion, gave to the peasants a religious war-cry? Was he the gentle and amiable pastor of Lutterworth, who only gave way to righteous indignation in the presence of papal abuses, and the iniquities of the friars, or was he the keen destructive critic, the logical successor of Roscellinus and Ockham, the heir of the revived atomism of Grosseteste, the exponent of a theory which was, indeed, fatal to the form of realism on which Transubstantiation rested, but which, if worked out, was as fatal to a belief in the Trinity and to the existence of an organized society in Church or State?

These are matters which at present cannot be fully decided. But there is a narrower question which the Wiclif Commemoration Committee ought to be prepared to face. We are invited to celebrate this week the Condemnation of John Wiclif, who was condemned in what is known as the "Earthquake" Council, held in the hall of the Dominican Monastery of Blackfriars in May, 1382. Are we prepared to accept the propositions for which Wiclif was condemned? They are as follows:—

"1. That the substance of material bread and wine doth remain in the Sacrament of the Altar after consecration.

"2. That the 'accidents' do not remain without the 'subject' in the same sacrament after consecration.

"3. That Christ is not in the Sacrament of the Altar identically, truly, and really in His proper corporeal person.

"4. That if a bishop or a priest be in mortal sin, he doth not ordain, consecrate, nor baptize.

"5. That if a man be truly contrite, all exterior confession is to him superfluous and invalid.

"6. That God ought to obey the devil.

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"7. That it hath no foundation in the Gospel that Christ did ordain the Mass.

"8. That if the Pope be a reprobate and an evil man, and consequently a member of the devil, he hath no power over the faithful of Christ given to him by any, unless peradventure it be given him by the Emperor.

"9. That after Urban VI. none other is to be received for Pope, but that Christendom ought to live after the manner of the Greeks, under its own laws.

"10. That it is against the sacred Scripture that ecclesiastical persons should have any temporal possessions."

To these articles, which were condemned as heretical, fourteen others were added, which were judged not heretical, but erroneous. They include such statements as these—(16) "That a man is no civil lord, nor bishop, nor prelate, as long as he is in mortal sin;" (17) "That temporal lords may at will take away their temporal goods from churches habitually delinquent;" (18) "That tithes are pure alms, and that parishioners may for the offences of their curates detain them and bestow them on others at pleasure;" and "that tenants may correct delinquent landlords at will."

Now, it is clear that these theses fall into two classes, those which were directed against the received view of Transubstantiation, and those which were connected with Wiclif's theory of dominion as founded in grace.

Can we endorse Wiclif's opposition to Transubstantiation? When we come to examine the question, we notice first of all that Wiclif had absolutely nothing in common with the anti-sacramental teaching of modern Puritans; and, secondly, when we look at the theses which Wiclif was anxious to defend, we find that it requires a practised metaphysician to discern the difference between the Transubstantiation which Wiclif *did* hold, and that which, as the received doctrine of the Roman Church, he denied. It was not the first time that Wiclife had been condemned for his views on Transubstantiation. In the year before the Peasants' Revolt he had published twelve theses which had been condemned by the University of Oxford. These theses, of which only one manuscript

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copy remains, have caused a good deal of trouble to Wiclif's admirers, because in one of them he denies Transubstantiation, in another he asserts it, and Dr. Lechler suggests that probably, in the latter case, the reading is corrupt. But the whole controversy looks like an interesting and subtle schoolman's quarrel. It is a mere assumption that a schoolman could not have attacked Transubstantiation and, nevertheless, held a form of it, which to us is indistinguishable. Even Luther, after rejecting it, adopted a view which was only different because it was unintelligible. And Wiclif apparently had a theory of his own almost as difficult for us to understand. Here, for instance, are three of his theses—

"4. The Eucharist, in virtue of the sacramental words, contains as well the Body as the Blood of Christ, truly and really, at every point." "5. Transubstantiation, identification, and impanation—terms made use of by those who have given names to the signs employed in the Eucharist—cannot be shown to have any foundation in Scripture." "8. The Sacrament of the Eucharist is in a figure the Body and Blood of Christ into which the bread and wine are transubstantiated, of which latter the nature remains the same after consecration, although in the contemplation of believers it is thrown into the background."

Here it is perfectly plain to any one who knows anything of the metaphysic of the schools that Wiclif opposed the prevailing doctrine, not because it reads a metaphysical theory into a Divine mystery, not because it "overthroweth the nature of a sacrament" or even because it "hath given occasion to many superstitions," but because he was opposed to that theory which was generally accepted, and wished to substitute for it one which would not imply that "an accident could exist without a subject." But when we ask what that theory was, most people would find a difficulty in distinguishing it from the Roman view. It had absolutely nothing in common with Zwinglian or Calvinist negations; and it differed materially from the view of the English Articles, which, while holding fast the Real Presence, reject all metaphysical theories whatsoever as to the mode of that Presence.

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When we come to the doctrine of dominion founded in grace we are in an even greater difficulty. With nothing but second-hand knowledge of Wiclif's theory, it is impossible to deal thoroughly with the question; but there is at least strong *primâ facie* evidence that the revolutionary views of the Lollards were not their own, but were inherited. Whether John Ball's confession be true or not, there is enough in the theses alone to serve as a text for socialism. Indeed, it would seem that Wiclif's teaching bore much the same relation to the revolt of 1381 as Luther's appeal to the nobles bore to the Peasants' War. If a parish priest in Ireland at the present time were to teach "that a man is no civil lord, nor bishop, nor prelate, as long as he is in mortal sin," and "that tenants may correct delinquent landlords at will," those who felt called upon to carry the theory into practice might not be over-scrupulous in their estimate of a landlord's character. And if, again, it were publicly taught that "it is against the sacred Scripture that ecclesiastical persons should have any temporal possessions," there might be more anxiety than there is now that Holy Scripture should be made the standard of practice. It is hopeless to attempt to put all this on one side by talking of "the cunning skill which fastened upon the Reformer the responsibility for the levelling and socialistic doctrines" of the Lollards. It rests with the defenders of Wiclif to show how the doctrine of the "De Dominio" could be anything but "levelling and socialistic." But it had theological as well as political consequences. It followed logically, as was stated in the fourth of the condemned theses, that a bishop or priest in mortal sin does not ordain, consecrate, or baptize. Those who hold that the Thirty-nine Articles of the English Church are implicit in Wiclif's theology may remember that the twenty-sixth Article exactly asserts the opposite view—viz. that "the effect of Christ's ordinance is not taken away by the wickedness of those who minister."

There still remains one thesis condemned at Blackfriars which we believe not even the most ardent supporter of Wiclif would be willing to assert—"God ought to obey the devil." It is difficult without the context even to see what

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it means. It is plainly a paradox, and the explanation of it is that Wiclif, seeing the antinomian consequences which must follow from the theory that sin in a ruler deprives him of the right to rule, declared that this was only true in an ideal state, and that as things are it is necessary to obey the wicked, even as Christ bowed to the Jewish and Roman authorities, and so recognized the duty of obedience even to those who were using their power against God. But, men being what they are, it is impossible to offer with one hand an ideal right of rebellion, and with the other an actual duty of submission. The Scripture to which Wiclif loved to appeal said a great deal about obedience even to wicked rulers, and nothing at all about dominion founded in grace, while the theory was but a strange reappearance of a dying feudalism. God, the feudal King, alone had *dominium*. From Him all others held in fief, and mortal sin forfeited the tenure. And yet we cannot wonder that the actual duty gave way in practice to the ideal right.

Aristotle, speaking of the warlike training of Sparta, passes upon it the well-known criticism—"They were safe while they were fighting, but a time of peace was their ruin." The same kind of criticism applies to Wiclif and to many later reformers. While they were protesting against abuses, or opposing positive error, or bringing everything to the test of the Bible and primitive Christianity, they were safe, sometimes even heroic; but when they came to reconstruct they fell into dangerous, if not heretical, theorizing. Sometimes the theory which was afterwards developed was already implied in their destructive work, and yet there are some who can only see the work and not the dangerous weapons with which the work was done.

A. L. M.

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II.

ILLUSTRATIONS OF THE HISTORY OF MEDIÆVAL THOUGHT.[1]

(*Guardian, September* 30, 1885.)

WHILE the new Regius Professor of History in the University of Oxford is reminding the world that there is no distinction between ancient and modern history, students like Mr. Poole are doing something to render such a statement not quite a paradox. To speak of ancient history shading off into modern is absurd while there is a dark zone of some thousand years or more, to which, by way of complimenting our ignorance, we give the name of the Dark Ages. It is natural that the period before this should seem very ancient indeed, and the period which follows it comparatively modern. In political and national history, no doubt, the dark region is neither quite so extensive or quite so dark; but the history of thought is supposed by most people to make a leap from Aristotle, or at least from the Christian era, to Bacon and Descartes, the fifteen hundred years or so which intervene being conveniently dismissed with a few remarks about "ecclesiastical authority," "want of individuality," "mere commentaries," etc., with perhaps a hint that the great minds of the period were occupied with formulæ like the *Barbara, Celarent*, of logic handbooks.

Mr. Poole has actually made his way through this dark country, or at least through a part of it, and the result is not a series of ponderous volumes like Father Harper's "Metaphysics of the Schools," but a group of very readable essays on questions of theology and ecclesiastical politics, the interest of the volume culminating in the last chapter on Wiclif's theory of Lordship. The book is the result of two years' residence in Germany and Switzerland, during which the author held a travelling scholarship under the Hibbert trust.

[1] "Illustrations of the History of Mediæval Thought." By Reginald Lane Poole, M.A. Published for the Hibbert Trustees. Williams and Norgate.

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The period which Mr. Poole marks out for himself is that which extends from the reign of Charlemagne, "the dividing line between ancient and mediæval history," to the beginnings of a revival of Greek letters in the fourteenth century—a period broken into two unequal halves by the introduction of the works of Aristotle in the beginning of the thirteenth century. In the earlier part Mr. Poole devotes himself to what he calls "traces of independence"—including a good deal of heresy—"in those regions where philosophy touches religion, where reason meets superstition and where theology links itself with political theory;" in the latter he confines himself—and to most people it will be the most interesting part of his work—to the various theories of the State which were prominent from the days of John of Salisbury to John Wiclif. We are not surprised to find a Hibbert scholar speaking with little reverence of Church authority, or indeed authority of any kind, yet he freely admits that—"However generously received, however heroically obtained, the aims of the premature Reformers were often too audaciously, too wantonly, directed against the beliefs of the mass of their fellow-Christians to deserve success. We may admire (he says) their nobility or their constancy, but an impartial judgment can hardly regret that they failed." Similarly, though Mr. Poole, like a good many others, speaks of the want of originality in mediæval thought, and even of the springs of human reason being "frozen by the rigid strength of theology," he is honest enough to allow that—

"The masculine spirit and the confidence with which the philosophers of the period carried on their speculations is hardly suspected by those who are not familiar with the original literature. Men who were least of all inclined to oppose anything that bore the stamp of traditional authority, displayed a freedom of judgment which could not but tend to consequences in one way or another divergent from the established system." "There was never a time" (he adds) "when the life of Christendom was so confined within the hard shell of its dogmatic system that there was no room left for individual liberty of opinion."

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Mr. Poole's "Illustrations" fully justify these statements. It is not only the independence of thought which strikes us in a period in which most people suppose thought to have run in a groove. There is so much which is extremely *modern* in mediæval speculation. The language is, indeed, the little known language of the Schools, but the great questions at issue are often the very questions in which our age is most deeply interested—the relation of reason and authority, of Church and State, of society and the individual. These are questions which never grow old. And if the great thinkers of the Middle Age have not given a final answer, they have at least shown us the logical consequences of some of the empirical solutions which are vaunted as discoveries in the nineteenth century. Indeed, if we may generalize from the books we have read on the Scholastic period, we should not hesitate to say that the less a writer knows about mediæval thought, the more positive he is in his assertions that there is nothing in it worth knowing, in fact that a contempt for Scholasticism usually varies inversely with the knowledge of it.

We must pass lightly over Mr. Poole's earlier essays, though they are well worth reading, because we wish to call special attention to the subjects dealt with in the later chapters. The essay, however, on John the Scot—Mr. Poole will not allow us to speak of John Scotus Erigena, because "the combination of the three names cannot be traced beyond the sixteenth century"—has an especial interest because of the curious anticipation of Hegelianism to be found in the writings of this ninth century pantheist. It is impossible to read John's tract, "De Divisione Naturæ," without being struck by this. Indeed, we have sometimes dared to think that when Hegelianized Christianity shelters itself under the venerable name of Scotism it is really far more in sympathy with the teaching of John the Scot than of the great rival of St. Thomas. At all events, if one could imagine an "accommodation" of Hegelianism and Christianity, with a slight touch of Buddhism which is now in fashion, the result would bear a strange resemblance to the theory of the Scot.

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The belief in the "*processio*" of the world from God and its final "*reversio in Deum*," the denial alike of creation and eternal separation from God, the rationalizing or allegorizing of the Bible and the great watchwords of the faith, and the theory of the final resolution of all things into unity, seem to us fully to justify the application of the term pantheist to the "holy sophist." Mr. Poole, indeed, argues that there are passages which show that it was impossible for John to have rested in a purely pantheistic belief. Yet in the next paragraph he adds :—

"Essentially his system would suffer little if we detached from it all those Christian elements upon which he supposed it rested; we should find a philosophy in which the idea of God, the idea of evil, and many of its central features resemble in a remarkable way the thoughts of Spinoza."

Theories of the State in the Middle Age begin with John of Salisbury. John, the pupil of Abailard and of William of Conches, the *protégé* of Archbishop Theobald and Thomas à Becket, belongs, indeed, chronologically to the earlier period; but both the subject with which he dealt, and the method of his dealing with it, connect him more naturally with the political theorists of later days. After St. Augustine he was the first to attempt to construct a philosophical theory of the State. A thorough humanist, he rose above the paltry dialectics of his day:—"Logic," says Mr. Poole, "had for the most part been degraded into idle casuistry and trifling; it had fallen into the hands of inferior men. The name of Aristotle was dragged down by people who, in William of Conches' phrase, were not worthy to be his scullions; and these conceited pretenders—even Adam du Petit Pont who knew better—designedly made their lessons as obscure and intricate as possible, in order to attract pupils who learned only for display." John, therefore, like Ludovicus Vives some four centuries afterwards, returns to Aristotle in appeal against the pseudo-Aristotelians, and prepared the way for that new era which began with the thirteenth century.

If for most people the history of thought makes a leap from Aristotle to the time of Descartes and Bacon, the history

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of political theory passes at once from Aristotle to Hobbes and Rosseau. Everybody knows that the Greek sophists made society a συνθήκη, or contract, and that the philosophers Plato and Aristotle set themselves to prove that it was an organic growth. Everybody also knows that the atomistic theory reappears in the "Leviathan" and the "Contrat Social," and they have read the criticism of these in Sir Henry Maine's "Ancient Law." But every one does not know how the question was fought out in the Middle Ages, nor have people generally any idea that Wiclif's doctrine of Lordship is only intelligible in the light of that controversy. Now the theories of John Wiclif have, for various reasons, excited a good deal of attention lately. And there has been a good deal of fighting in the dark, owing to the fact that the "De Dominio" exists only in manuscript. Is it true, as we have been told, that "Wiclif begat George," or was he the law-abiding citizen whose theology was a prophetic adumbration of the Thirty-nine Articles? Mr. Poole has some important information to give us on the subject. More than that, he speaks with authority, for he has been chosen by the Wiclif Society to edit this crucial work of the great Schoolman. We heartily congratulate the society on the selection, though we are not sure the Wiclif Commemoration Committee and their followers have much to rejoice at. Still, a Hibbert Scholar will not take a narrowly ecclesiastical view of the questions at issue, nor will one who welcomes any proof of "independence" fail to sympathize with a parish priest who was condemned for heresy.

Mr. Poole has certainly done wisely in giving us the *vindemiatio prima* of his Wiclif labours in this shape, since there is some hope that the contradictions in the theory of Lordship will be made intelligible, if not justified, in the light of the political speculations of the previous age. First among these, as we have said, is the theory of John of Salisbury. It was natural that John should rest his theory of government on a hierarchical basis. The Hildebrandine view was in the ascendant, and the friend of Becket was not likely to question it. But for that view it was only necessary to hold that all

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civil power was ultimately derived from the spiritual power. "*Oportet gladium esse sub gladio et temporalem spirituali subiici potestatem.*" What the form of civil government might be was a matter of indifference, so long as it owned its dependence on the Papacy. A priest of Alsatia, Manegold, even went so far as to revive the sophistic theory of a social contract, and to argue that, a king being appointed to govern righteously, a king who does not so govern *ipso facto* absolves his people from obedience. John did not go so far as this. On the whole his view is imperialistic. The king reflects the Divine Majesty on earth. He bears the sword which he has received from the successor of St. Peter. To our ways of thinking a defence of tyrannicide fits in oddly with such a theory; yet, here, as in Wiclif, the contradiction is due to the difference between the ideal and the actual. Ideally the king is the image of the divine government; actually he is often a tyrant, and tyrannicide is not only lawful, it is a duty. With the exception of poisoning, which John objects to as abhorrent from English customs, any arts may be employed to secure a tyrant's death.

The corrective of this dangerously antinomian view was due in scholastic days to a truer reading of Aristotle. It is the greatness of St. Thomas that he defended the more philosophical, as it is the more Christian, view, that the State exists not νόμῳ but φύσει. Society is not a consequence of the Fall—the work of Cain and Nimrod, which was the view of Hildebrand—but a natural development of those social instincts which are a true part of man's nature. St. Thomas is, of course, not a whit less "papal" than John of Salisbury or Hildebrand himself; but he had the wisdom to see that the "spiritual" theory, which Wiclif afterwards revived, was fatal first to social order and ultimately to the claims of the Church itself. He, therefore, laid the foundations of society in man's nature. Tyrannicide, he saw, was a weapon not to be intrusted to individual patriots. An authoritative excommunication may, indeed, release subjects from their allegiance, but, except in an elective monarchy, subjects cannot release themselves. No less far-seeing was St. Thomas in his recog-

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nition of the principle of nationalism, which for centuries afterwards the Papacy attempted to merge in a worn-out imperialism. As a triumph of nationalism, the Reformation itself was the triumph of the views of St. Thomas. It is worth noticing, though Mr. Poole is not responsible for the remark, that Wiclif's defence of national independence was based upon premisses as false as the conclusion was true.

Wiclif's doctrine of Lordship, about which so much has been said lately, links itself on naturally to the spiritual theory of earlier days, and appears as diametrically opposed to the teaching of St. Thomas. Mr. Poole speaks of it as "the most ideal scheme of polity conceived in the Middle Ages, and the furthest removed from practical possibility," and yet also one "modelled closely on the organization of feudalism." The main outlines of the theory are well known. God alone has *dominium* or lordship; men hold directly of Him. There is no delegation of that supreme power to a vicar. It is "a feudalism in which there are no mesne lords." There is no derivation of civil power from spiritual, or of spiritual from civil. All laymen are priests and all priests laymen, because both hold of God on the same terms of service, viz. holiness of life. A sinner is guilty of breach of contract with God his feudal lord. Therefore he is *ipso facto* disqualified for lordship. He can possess nothing; nor can anything be aliened to him in mortmain, because it is against the will of his Lord-in-Chief. "By the fact that a man, by omission or commission, becomes guilty of mortal sin, he defrauds his Lord-in-Chief of the service due to him, and by consequence incurs forfeiture; wherefore he is rightfully to be deprived of all lordship whatsoever."[1] The possession which the wicked seem to have is not real possession, and "whosoever hath not, from him shall be taken even that which he seemeth to have." A righteous man has everything, a wicked man has nothing; and as there are many righteous men, all goods must be in common. "Charity seeketh not her own"—that is, according to Wiclif, "seeketh not to be a proprietor, but to have all things in common." "Wherefore," he concludes, "it appears to me that

[1] "De Dom. Civ.," ap. Poole.

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the discreet theologian will determine nothing rashly as touching these laws (of inheritance), but will affirm according to law that all things should be had in common." If this is not socialism we do not know what is. It was a theory fatal indeed to Papal claims, but at the tremendous cost of being subversive of society. It is quite true that Wiclif, in his well-known paradox that *God ought to obey the devil*, inculcated obedience even to depraved rulers, and it is also true, as Mr. Poole reminds us, that "if we are startled by the premature socialism of the thesis, we have to bear in mind that Wycliffe had yet to learn its effects in practical life, as displayed in the excesses of the rebels of 1381." But the fact remains that a theory, which, as a whole, was ideal and for most people unintelligible, had unfortunately a very intelligible side. Whatever may be said of Wiclif's theology, "His political theory," Mr. Poole says, "noble as it is, rests upon as wilful, as preposterous a treatment of the Bible as that of any of his hierarchical adversaries. Carried into practice by those who were not able to appreciate his refinements, it resolved itself into a species of socialism which was immediately seen to be subversive of the very existence of society."

There is much which Mr. Poole has, perhaps intentionally, left unsaid, though it is suggested by a comparison of John Wiclif's theory with that of John of Salisbury on the one side, and that of St. Thomas Aquinas on the other. It is perhaps reserved for the edition of Wiclif's "De Dominio" which is shortly to appear. We should have liked to hear more about Wiclif's Platonism, which, it seems to us, is the key not only to his communism, but to his curious theory of the Sacramental Presence. In the interests of his ideal theory he reduced civil society to a concourse of atoms as completely as ever the Sophist did, far more completely than those did who, like John of Salisbury, allowed to it a relative existence derived from the spiritual power of the Papacy. For Wiclif's men were φύσει equal, all possessing all things. The Fall, introducing the lust for lordship, produced society as it is. And "the powers that be" must be obeyed, though in the beginning it was not so. To theories ancient or modern,

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hierarchical, sophistical, or spiritual, which sap society, the only real answer is that of Aristotle, of Aquinas, of St. Paul—"The powers that be are ordained of God." They do not exist because Christ gave St. Peter two swords, and St. Peter, or his successor, lent one to Constantine; nor because government is a necessary evil in a fallen world; but because order is itself divine and society is the true development of human nature. That this natural order may be taken up into a higher order, a society which, though visible, is itself divine and the sphere of a supernatural life, is a truth which Wiclif, no less than the Puritanism of later ages, failed to realize.

Mr. Poole, we believe, will prove to have done good service in dealing a final blow at Wiclif-worship. In Reformation days nothing did so much to destroy reverence for images as the discovery of impostures. We can hardly imagine the effect on the multitude who saw the miraculous Rood of Boxley taken to pieces and its internal mechanism exposed. Mr. Poole has to some extent done the same for Wiclif. Hitherto all objections have been met by mysterious references to the manuscript at Vienna, which was to clear up any suspicions of socialism from Wiclif's name. Mr. Poole has opened the idol and shown us the works, and, painful as disillusionment is, we thank him for it.

III.

TRACTATUS DE BENEDICTÂ INCARNACIONE.[1]

(*Guardian, March* 9, 1887.)

WE are glad to welcome a fresh instalment of the work of the Wiclif Society in the "Treatise on the Incarnation." Now that the so-called Wiclif Commemoration, with its polemical associations, is forgotten, we can dispassionately examine the theology of the great Schoolman, and judge it apart from modern controversies.

[1] Johannis Wyclif, "Tractatus de Benedicta Incarnacione." Trübner.

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The treatise before us is one of the seventeen books of Wiclif which, by a Bull of Alexander V., were publicly burnt at Prague on July 10, 1410. Yet it is hard to find in it anything which can be distinctly called heretical, unless it be the *per impossibile* argument in p. 184 that if the humanity of Christ could be separated from the Godhead, which it cannot be, it would still be worthy of Divine adoration. And here the conditions of a *per impossibile* argument are so difficult to realize, even in thought, that we are inclined to give Wiclif the benefit of the doubt. There are, of course, many passages which, apart from their context, look heretical enough, and this should be a warning to those who, whether as friends or foes, attempt to construct Wiclif's theology from isolated statements. It is startling to modern ears to be told emphatically that it is a part of Catholic belief to hold that "Christ is a creature." And yet, as the context plainly shows, Wiclif is here only vindicating the truth of Christ's human nature. He is as far from Arianism as St. Thomas Aquinas himself. The fact that the Word took on Himself, in the Incarnation, not the nature of a man, or of many men, but the *communis humanitas*, whereby He became *The* Man, *communis homo*, is stated again and again, sometimes almost eloquently, and the hyper-realism, to which Wiclif is committed, is appealed to in order to explain the closeness of the union of Christ with the Christian.

The treatise is evidently one of Wiclif's earlier writings and belongs, in the judgment of the editor and of Dr. Shirley, to the period immediately preceding the year 1367 A.D. Yet even here Wiclif is feeling his way to a new position. As a Realist he is the sworn enemy of the Nominalists, whose champion, William of Occam, had died some twenty years before. As a Thomist he is constantly refuting and almost ridiculing Duns Scotus. But his advanced Platonism is already leading him away from St. Thomas Aquinas, though St. Augustine, John Damascenus, Bonaventura, and Hugo de St. Victor are accepted without question.

In pp. 184–190 there is an interesting passage on the Eucharist, in which we can see the first steps in the transition

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to the view which he afterwards adopted, and which modern sacramentarians unintelligently claim as their own. At the time of the quincentenary commemoration those who looked upon Wiclif as the great opponent of transubstantiation, and, therefore, *ipso facto* one who denied the Real Presence, were a good deal troubled by the fact that while rejecting transubstantiation he used the term of his own view. Chapter xi. in the "De Incarnacione" throws considerable light on this. At present his objection to the received doctrine lies entirely in the metaphysical, not, as afterwards, in the moral region. Here he suggests that the "essence" is still bread and wine, though a *miraculosa transsubstanciacio* has taken place. But he is not "anxious" about the question, because an exact definition is not necessary for the "pilgrim"—*i.e.* the Christian in the world. The passage is worth quoting:—

"Sed quoad questionem—quid est de tali essencia?—non sollicitor; licet sint quotlibet dicta sanctorum que sonant quod sit panis vel vinum; que forte intelligenda sunt, quod essencia subiecta illis accidentibus post transsubstanciacionem est panis ante transsubstanciacionem, et virtute transsubstanciacionis desinit esse quid vel substancia, et manet eadem essencia conformiter accidentata. Illa autem non fit corpus Christi sed fit signum signans nobis ineffabiliter quod ad omnem punctum sui sit sacramentaliter corpus Christi et concomitanter anima et omnia alia Christi accidencia absoluta. Nec est de substancia fidei viatorum scire quid est illa essencia; sed satis est cognoscere questionem si est de ista cum transsubstanciacione et ceteris veritatibus que sacramento eucaristie sunt annexe."

It would be easy to argue that if the "*essentia*" is bread and wine, a real "*transsubstanciacio*" does not take place, and that if the term "*transsubstanciacio*" be rightly used, the "*dicta sanctorum*" cannot mean what they seem to mean (*sonant*). But this criticism would not touch Wiclif's position, since he distinguishes between "*substantia*" and "*essentia*," his real difficulty being that the received view of "transubstantiation" requires, as St. Thomas asserts, that the accidents of bread and wine should exist *solâ divinâ virtute*

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without a subject, or that by a miracle the accident of quantity (*quantitas dimensiva*) should become the subject for the other accidents. This last view, which is adopted by St. Thomas, Wiclif will not hear of, nor will he allow that accidents can exist without a subject. Out of the metaphysical difficulty he sees but one escape—the theory, namely, that Christ's Body is present with every particle of the bread "*sacramentaliter et concomitanter*," together with Christ's Soul and all His qualities. This view reappears at a much later stage in Wiclif's theological development, when, in his confession of faith as to the Eucharist, published within two years of his death, he asserts his belief that "the sacrament of the altar, white and round, and like to other bread, or host sacred, is very God's body in form of bread; and though it be broken in three parts, as the Church uses, or else in a thousand, each one of these several parts is the same God's body." In the "De Incarnacione" he is becoming gradually conscious of the metaphysical difficulties of St. Thomas's position; in the later confession he has repudiated the received view and adopted a theory of concomitance. But, as Dr. Lechler allows, he throughout "believes and teaches a true and real objective presence of Christ's Body in the Supper," and quotes the hymn, *Pange lingua*, as favouring his own view.

It is hardly to be supposed that any, except those specially interested in Wiclif's theology, will toil through the present treatise. The Latin is crabbed, the treatment scholastic, and many of the discussions, judged by our standards, frivolous. But there are signs of a growing interest in scholastic theology, and for those who have this interest the present treatise will be invaluable. The editor, Mr. Edward Harris, has done his work well. He has not only collated three Vienna manuscripts, with one at Oriel College, Oxford, and one in the British Museum—a work which, to judge from the specimen of the Oriel manuscripts given in the frontispiece, required both ingenuity and perseverance—but has also added a valuable marginal analysis, and a short but useful preface.

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IV.

LUTHER AND THE LUTHER COMMEMORATION.

(*Guardian, November* 7, 1883.)

WHAT does the English Church owe to the great Reformer? This is the question which the Luther Commemoration forces upon the minds of thinking Churchmen. The Religious Tract Society offers us a long list of books, ranging downwards from handsomely bound volumes by Dr. Stoughton to two-penny tracts. The Luther Commemoration Committee accompanies its "Outlines of Arrangements for London" by a manifesto setting forth the claims of Martin Luther to the gratitude and admiration of the English people. But perhaps the books which will be most generally interesting will be the cheap edition of the life of Luther, by the German, Julius Köstlin, and a reprint from the *Contemporary Review* of a short biography by Mr. J. A. Froude. All this literature ought to help us to give an answer to the question, What does the Church of England owe to Martin Luther?

In attempting at such a time to take a dispassionate view of Luther's place in religious thought, we are painfully conscious that we shall be accused of a want of enthusiasm, of narrowness of view, and a general inability to recognize greatness outside the little circle of our own beliefs. But if the question proposed is worth answering, we should be wrong to allow the greatness of Luther as a man to obscure those weak points in his position which left room for consequences which he would have been the first to deplore. "*Amicus Plato sed magis amica Veritas.*"

It is a remarkable thing that the Romanists and the Rationalists, who rarely fight on the same side, are found in absolute agreement as to Luther's place in the history of religious thought. The judgment which they pass upon him is, of course, widely different, but only because they differently

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estimate the value of the work which both agree that Martin Luther did. History shows us that in the irresistible logic of development Tübingen theology was the outcome of Luther's teaching, as Voltaire was the consequence of Locke. Yet it would be as unfair to call Luther a rationalist, in the modern sense of the term, as to credit Locke with atheism. The well-known saying that "Erasmus laid the egg of the Reformation, and Luther hatched it," was met by Erasmus with the remark —"The truth is, I laid a hen's egg, but Luther hatched a very different bird," and the same may be said of Luther and the Tübingen criticism. And yet Luther is called the father of rationalism by those who see in it the work of Antichrist, no less than by those who welcome it as the triumph of reason over superstition. Here, for instance, is an amusingly grandiloquent passage from the Roman Catholic translator of Möhler's "Symbolik:"—

"The most insidious and dangerous form of infidelity has grown up *naturally*, *immediately*, and *irresistibly* out of the very root of Protestantism. The vampire of rationalism, while it cleaves to the bosom, and sucks the life blood of the German Protestant Church, mocks, with a fiend-like sneer, her impotent efforts to throw off the monster, efforts which will never be attended with success till the aid of the old mother Church be called in."

The Hibbert Lecturer of this year, in more chastened English, is equally clear about the connection of Luther with Tübingen theology; and Mr. G. H. Lewes thinks that on the whole it was a good thing that men did not at once exchange the authority of the Church for the supremacy of reason, but took as a stepping-stone the "purely human authority of antiquity" which was certain, sooner or later, to give way before "the necessary insurgence of reason insisting on freedom." Even Mr. Froude makes the dangerous admission that "the intellectual conflict which is still raging is the yet uncompleted outcome of Luther's defiance of established authority."

But is Luther responsible for all this? It is certain that all the various Christian sects who will join in the Luther

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Commemoration believe that somehow or other he is not; and in proof they will naturally urge that no man can be held responsible for views diametrically opposed to his own. But it is the nemesis on a one-sided system that it is worked out into the denial of its own premisses. This is a mere platitude in the history of speculative thought; and it is no less true in religion. Nothing was dearer to Martin Luther than the inspired Word of God. Could he have lived to see Germany in the nineteenth century, the enthusiasm of those who joined in the Wittenberg celebration, and even the encomium of a Crown Prince, would, to his earnest and religious mind, have been but a poor consolation for the irreligion and spiritual deadness of the fatherland.

At all events those Christians who combine to celebrate a Luther Commemoration will not do so because, either consciously or unconsciously, he paved the way for German rationalism. His greatness for them must lie in something more positive and more lasting. And it is only the glamour of that phrase "freedom of thought" which for a moment hides from men the fact that Luther can no more be quoted as the champion of free thought than the Pilgrim Fathers can be appealed to as the apostles of religious toleration.

Where, then, is the secret of the power which the name of Luther exercises in England as well as in his own land? Direct influence on English Church history Luther had little or none. Indeed, those persons who are fond of speculating on what would have happened if something else had *not* happened, may plausibly argue that the English Reformation might have taken substantially the form it did if Luther had never lived. But such speculations are of little value, and we have at least to remember that, in all human probability, if Germany had not been distracted by the Lutheran schism, the Roman Catholic Emperor, Charles, must have come forward as the champion of the Papacy, and the avenger of the wrongs of his injured aunt, and England might, by force of arms, have been brought again under the papal yoke. Still Luther's claim to the gratitude of Englishmen is seldom based upon the fact that he created a diversion in Germany,

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which enabled England peacefully to carry out its own reforms, and that on constitutional lines, and without a breach with Catholic antiquity. Luther's name is held in honour, first and before all, because he is looked upon as being, somehow, the champion of the Bible against a Church tradition which kept it in the hands of the few. Reuchlin and Erasmus, it is said, gave the Bible to the learned, Luther gave it to the people. Those Christian sects, therefore, who, in spite of their innumerable differences and their internecine strife, still profess to accept "the Bible and the Bible only" as their starting-point, naturally find here room for unqualified approbation and congratulation of Martin Luther. But though "the Bible and the Bible only" may be "the religion of Protestants," it is certainly not the religion of the English Church or of Catholic antiquity. And it is just for this reason that the English Church finds it less easy than Protestant Dissenters do to join without reserve in a Luther Commemoration. For all that is *distinctively* Lutheran the English Church distinctively rejects. The Lutheran theory of the Sacramental Presence is as un-English as the Lutheran teaching about necessary and habitual confession. The doctrine of "Justification by Faith," with which, more than with any other, the name of Luther is identified, is held by the English Church as it was held in Reformation days by such men as Gaspar Contarini and Reginald Pole even within the Roman Church. But it is in its Pauline, not in its Lutheran dress, and therefore it is not necessary for us, as it was for Luther, to explain away any part of the Word of God. Indeed, if we may quote the words of one who, in the highest and truest sense of the word, is "an Evangelical," "Luther's portraiture of the Pauline doctrine is like a photograph out of focus. He does not understand the proportion of faith."

And yet Luther's passionate love for the Bible lies, we believe, at the root of his influence over the English people. And English Churchmen yield to none in their devotion to the Word of God, and generous sympathy with those who, in whatever way, may have tried to spread abroad its truth.

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But it is just here that Churchmen find themselves in a difficulty. They have not a less real, but a stronger and more intelligent belief in God's Word, because they refuse to separate it from the Divine Revelation of which the God-man is the centre, and Church and priesthood and sacraments, not less than Bible and Creed, are radiating lines. They cannot, therefore, shut their eyes to the fact that even Luther's devotion to the Bible was so tainted with onesidedness that it became a zeal without knowledge; and just because it was so, it contained in itself the seeds of decay. If an *ipse dixit* of Martin Luther can distinguish between St. Paul as "evangelical," and St. James as the author of an "epistle of straw," we can hardly wonder if after ages refused to allow to Luther a monopoly of the "higher criticism." If Luther may recast the canon, why not Strauss and Baur? If Luther may say of the story of Jonah, "It is more incredible than any poet's fable. If it were not in the Bible I should laugh at it. He was three days in the belly of a great fish! Why, the fish would have digested him in three hours, and converted him into its own flesh and blood. The miracle of the Red Sea was nothing to this. The sequel, too, is so foolish—when he is released he begins to rave and expostulate and make himself miserable about a gourd. It is a great mystery;"—If, we repeat, Luther may write like this, and still be honoured for his love and veneration for the Bible, then, indeed, Dr. Colenso has been hardly used. It is just because there is so much truth in the statement that rationalism is inherent in Lutheranism, that English Churchmen are compelled to give a very modified assent to any Luther Commemoration. They love the Bible too well to allow even a Luther to lay an irreverent sacrilegious hand upon it.

Even if we think of Luther as a great Reformer, thoughtful Churchmen are still unable to give unqualified approval to the Wittenberg Friar. No truer criticism upon him could be passed than that which he himself passed upon the great Humanist. "Erasmus," he says, "knows very well how to expose error, he does not know how to teach the truth." The greatness of Luther lay in the destructive not the con-

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structive part of his work. And no one who loves truth can commend destruction which does not lead on to a true reconstruction. It is true that the more we read of the history of the fifteenth century the more we admire and wonder at the vigour and the irresistible power of "the monk that shook the world." Every expedient had been tried. The great reforming Councils of Pisa, and Constance, and Basle, in the early half of the century, had done their best for reform, and they had failed. The great patriot-prophet of Florence, Savonarola, had made his noble protest, and he had failed. The world, jaded and weary, still hoped for a "Papa Angelicus" even with a Borgia upon the throne. Religious men retired into the cloister to shun the world they could not reform, and sought oblivion of the fact in a mystical communing with God. Many thought with that Dominican, who, within a year of Luther's birth, declared, "No human power avails any longer to reform the Church through a Council, and God Himself must come to our aid in some way unknown to us." Then Martin Luther appeared. In Florence he would have shared the fate of Savonarola; in Wittenberg he became in God's Hand the means of a real reform within the Church. For Trent was a reforming Council, and the Jesuits were the children of the Reformation. That which the Church of Rome had failed to do by her own power she did under pressure of the Lutheran revolt. But Lutheranism, meanwhile, was exposed to the attacks of hundred-headed heresy, against which its author had nothing to oppose but his own indomitable will and the Bible as he interpreted it. But Carlstadt and Zwingle and Calvin could interpret the Bible too, and there was no final court of appeal. Still, so long as all recognized the Bible as the inspired Word of God, the various Continental sects, which had broken with Catholic antiquity, might still profess and call themselves Christian. But afterwards the critics came. Dr. Strauss, a teacher of theology at Tübingen, and a licentiate of Protestant theology at Bonn, Bruno Baur, discovered that the bondage to a book was as bad as bondage to a Church. If Luther could loose from one, why should not others complete his

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work? What security had he given that others would not call liberty what he inveighed against as licence? Here again we see at once the strength and weakness of Luther's work. Nothing could be grander than his earnest protest in favour of a living and spiritual faith against a religion which had become hollow and formal and unreal. But the reaction led to the losing hold of that body of objective truth, which, overlaid though it was by papal inventions, Rome in all her time of deadness and corruption had faithfully preserved. Luther was meant to be a mystic. He had read Tauler to some purpose. What looks like unbounded self-confidence was really the mystic's conviction of an immediate Divine revelation, and for this reason even his strong belief in the Bible, though it saved him from the extravagances of Anabaptism, was not enough to prevent that "picking and choosing" amongst revealed truths which it is hard to distinguish from heresy.

It is therefore only a partial, and, as it will seem, a half-hearted assent, which sober-minded English Churchmen can give, when invited to co-operate with Evangelical Churches of all denominations in a Luther Commemoration. The committee propose co-operation on a fourfold basis, which is as follows:—

1. *The completeness of Holy Scripture as the only inspired, perfect, and infallible rule of faith.*

Here we are tempted to borrow an argument from some modern defenders of Lutheranism. "Justification by faith *only*," it is said, "does not mean justification by faith *alone*." *Pari ratione*, it is one thing to say that "Holy Scripture containeth all things necessary to salvation;" it is another to isolate Holy Scripture from that Divine revelation of which it is a part, and think that it will prove itself.

2. *The right of the people to read the Scriptures and to exercise private judgment in the interpretation.*

We venture to think that no one, be he Churchman or Dissenter, who believes in the One Lord and loves his brother man, can admit this statement in its literal sense, at least in the face of the existence of that method of so exercising

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private judgment on Holy Scripture as to make the Bible a fulcrum for overthrowing the Divinity of Christ and the authority of the inspired Word.

3. *The duty of a constant protest against the idolatrous, persecuting, and apostate character of the papal system—its blasphemous assumption of the perfections of the Divine Being —its antagonism to the work of Christ and of the Holy Spirit, to the teaching of Scripture, and to the well-being of mankind.*

With due allowance for strong language, no English Churchmen will refuse to admit this duty, and the implied recognition of the truth that Luther's greatness lay in his strong and vigorous protest against an unspiritual and formal and even idolatrous worship.

4. When we come to the last point, "*The recognition of the rightful authority of the Lord Jesus Christ over the Church and the nations,*" we can only say that that truth, thank God, is the monopoly of neither Lutheran nor anti-Lutheran, neither Protestant nor Catholic. What its precise place is in a Luther Commemoration we fail to see, since no Church ever held that truth more strongly than the Church against which Luther protested, and which arrogantly claims for its supreme bishop the title of Vicar of Christ.

V.

FIRST PRINCIPLES OF THE REFORMATION.[1]

(*Guardian, January* 9, 1884.)

WHATEVER different views may have been held as to the Luther Festival, and the place of Martin Luther in ecclesiastical and general history, most English people will agree in thanking the new Principal of King's College and Dr.

[1] "First Principles of the Reformation; or, The Ninety-five Theses and the Three Primary Works of Dr. Martin Luther translated into English." Edited, with Theological and Historical Introduction, by Henry Wace, B.D., D.D., and C. A. Buchheim, Ph.D. John Murray.

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Buchheim for introducing to them these great works of the Reformer. It is, indeed, an extraordinary thing, considering the enthusiasm which exists in England on the subject, as shown by the commemoration, that these important treatises have not been edited before. In Germany they are well known as "Die drei grossen Reformations-Schriften." In England the treatise on Christian Liberty is the only one which has been translated, and that is little known. Thanks to Dr. Wace and Dr. Buchheim, we have now not only the three treatises, but the celebrated Ninety-five Theses, which every one talks of and nobody reads.

We could almost have wished that Martin Luther might here have been allowed to speak for himself, without note or comment. But this was not to be. Dr. Wace gives us a theological introduction of about forty pages, and Dr. Buchheim writes about fifty pages more on the political history of the period. This separation of the historical from the theological has obvious advantages and disadvantages, and we are inclined to think there is a balance on the side of disadvantage. Dr. Buchheim's Preface travels over well-worn ground, and for the most part adds little to what is generally known. But it was news to us that the Elector Frederick the Wise endowed Wittenberg University with the stolen proceeds of the indulgence traffic in his electorate. There is a curious irony in the fact that a university so founded should be best known through him whose greatness is his attack on indulgences; or, to put the same thing in a different form, there is a grim appropriateness in Dr. Martin Luther having owed the advantages he enjoyed at Wittenberg to the sale of indulgences against which he protested. When Dr. Buchheim talks of the burning of the Pope's bull as a thing which no Emperor had dared to do, the statement may be literally correct, but he seems to forget that Philip le Bel had set the example in France some two centuries before. And when in the closing paragraph we are told that "the Reformation is the source, directly or indirectly, by action or by reaction, of everything great and noble which has taken place from about the beginning of the sixteenth century," that

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"through the Reformation alone men of all creeds have become free and enlightened," and that "the work of the Reformation is one of the greatest blessings ever bestowed on mankind," we are inclined, in mere fairness, to suggest that the dispassionate historian, no less than the theologian, will find a good deal to say on the other side. Still, the sketch of Reformation history, which Dr. Buchheim gives, and which carries us down to the death of Luther, will probably be found useful to those who wish to be reminded of the circumstances which called forth the treatises of 1520.

Of the Theological Preface, by Dr. Wace, there is much more to be said. In a history which merely records the course of events, with but few reflections on their causes and consequences, there is little difficulty. But it is far different when we come to a theological account of Martin Luther's works. This is indeed *incedere per ignes*. For few men ever offered so many opportunities to his enemies as Luther did. Few men wrote more forcibly, more unguardedly, more impulsively. His very power was due, in great measure, to his onesidedness—his firm grasp of that which was often only a half truth. And theology implies balance, system, scientific reasoning, careful limiting of truth by truth, all of which were alien from Luther's nature. To say that "if he was a great reformer, it was because he was a great divine," seems to us to be true neither in history nor in logic. Great divines are rarely, if ever, great reformers; for reformation means, in most cases, the reassertion of some side of truth which has been lost or overlaid, and he who finds it and proclaims it to the world not unnaturally fancies it is the whole. It would be more true to say that Luther was a great reformer because he was *not* a great divine; and when Professor Wace finishes up his sentence with the words, "if he was a friend of the people it was because he was the friend of God," we feel that the sentence is more antithetical than either intelligible or true.

Professor Wace takes as the subject of his introductory essay "the primary principles of Luther's life and teaching," the treatises themselves being spoken of later on as Luther's

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"greatest and most characteristic writings." And it is of first importance that we should remember that they are Luther's *first* writings and not his *last*. They were in fact all of them written in the latter half of the year 1520; that is to say, between the time when the Bull of Excommunication was published in Rome on June 15, and its actual publication in Wittenberg somewhere in the middle of October. Neither the theological nor the historical introduction helps us as to the relation of these three treatises to one another. They are printed in the following order:—(1) The Address to the Nobility; (2) On Christian Liberty, with Luther's Letter to Leo X.; and (3) On the Babylonish Captivity. But this order is more than doubtful. The address to the German nobility was certainly the first of the three, and appeared in June, at the time when the papal theologians were busy preparing the Bull of Excommunication. The prefatory letter to Amsdorf is dated June 23. The Babylonish Captivity Luther was at work upon in August, at the time when rumours were afloat that Eck was on his way to Saxony, armed with the Pope's bull. The treatise was published probably on October 6, immediately after Luther heard of the arrival of Eck in Saxony. The tract on Christian Liberty, with the letter to the Pope, was written *after* the publication of the bull, but was *deliberately antedated September* 6. The explanation of this is that the letter was the result of the negotiation with Miltitz which had been going on for nearly two years, and had been interrupted by the Leipzic disputation. A final conference held at Lichtenberg on October 11 had resulted in the letter, to which the tract on Christian Liberty is attached, and which, by Miltitz's advice, was dated back to the time when Luther first gave his consent to write it, nearly a month before the bull reached Wittenberg. Surely an historical introduction might have found a place for these facts.

But it is even more important for a theologian to notice the relation which subsists between these primary writings of Luther and those which he wrote when he was under the ban of the Church and the Empire. It is obviously unfair to take

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three short treatises, all written within four months, as the full expression of Luther's views, when, as everybody knows, he lived for a quarter of a century after the Diet of Worms, and wrote more violently and more recklessly as his opposition to the Church on the one side and to his brother Protestants on the other became more bitter. But in the lurid light thrown upon them by his later writings we are able to see in these early ones all that is characteristic of Luther, his strength and his weakness, his vigorous hold on a truth, and his utter inability to see its limits. It will be no longer possible for those who shudder at Luther's later utterances to excuse them by the persecution from Church and State which he went through; for, thanks to Dr. Wace and Dr. Buchheim, we see that they are only the utterances of the three treatises "writ large." It is not that Luther's principles are false, and are seen to be so more plainly in his later than his earlier writings. It is rather that what in the early writings appears as a want of balance between two principles, which in a true theology must limit one another, becomes in the later works an utter disregard of one in order to emphasize the other. Faith and works, reason and authority, the ministerial and the sacerdotal, are indeed found together in the three treatises, but the beginnings of the severance are plainly visible and the final result is hardly doubtful. Perhaps if Luther had not lived to work out his principles to their logical conclusions we might have doubted whether the conclusions followed from the premisses; but as it is, we have a new and valuable corroboration of the fact than an almost infinitesimal deviation from Catholic truth in the foundations of the faith is enough to throw the whole superstructure out of the perpendicular.

There was a great opportunity here for Dr. Wace to show where Luther's principles agreed with, and where they differed from, those of the Church of England, as they were asserted at the Reformation. Instead of this, the editors have agreed to publish these treatises of Luther's with the general title "First Principles of the Reformation." The ordinary reader would infer, and perhaps was meant to infer, that they are

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principles common to all Reformed Churches, and therefore to the Church of England. But is this true? We venture to think that it is not. More than that, we should be prepared to maintain and prove that, while Lutheran principles are implicit in these treatises, the principles on which the English Church was reformed are either not recognized or are most insufficiently guarded. This, of course, does not apply to the negative or "protestant" part of the treatises. Here, not only all non-Roman Churches agree, but, so far as abuses are concerned, the Roman Church itself, in the Council of Trent, expressed its agreement with Luther's protest. Dr. Buchheim suggests that "Old Catholic" would have been a better term for Luther's followers than "Lutheran" or "Protestant." And, no doubt, "Old Catholicism" means a better thing than Lutheranism or Protestantism. But for that reason it would have been less appropriate, since Luther's "Old Catholic" phase, if it ever began, ended with the theses. But neither Lutherans nor English Churchmen are prepared to stand by the theses. For they were protests neither against the Pope nor against indulgences, but against that false teaching about indulgences, "that licence in the preaching of pardons which makes it no easy thing, even for learned men, to protect the reverence due to the Pope against the calumnies, or at all events, the keen questionings of the laity."[1] What Luther's position was at this time is shown by the following quotations:—

Thesis 7. "God never remits any man's guilt, without at the same time subjecting him, humbled in all things, to the authority of his representative, the priest."

Thesis 71. "He who speaks against the truth of Apostolical pardons let him be anathema and accursed."

Thesis 72. "But he, on the other hand, who exerts himself against the wantonness and licence of speech of the preachers of pardons let him be blessed."

Thesis 73. "As the Pope justly thunders against those who use any kind of contrivance to the injury of traffic in pardons."

[1] Thesis 81.

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Thesis 74. "Much more is it his intention to thunder against those who, under the pretext of pardons, use contrivances to the injury of holy charity and of truth."

The theses were, indeed, a noble attempt to revive the true meaning of indulgences as the remission of ecclesiastical penalties, and to check and limit the buying of pardons which had now taken the place of voluntary thankofferings. But Luther throughout assumes that the Pope is on his side, and if a Medicean Pope could have had any beliefs on the subject, Leo X. probably would have agreed with the Augustinian friar that, "Those tares about changing of the canonical penalty into the penalty of purgatory seem surely to have been sown while the bishops were asleep."[1] But prescription had complicated the matter, and when some years later the reforming Pontiff, Adrian VI., attempted to declare the true doctrine about indulgences, the cardinals, if we may for once trust Sarpi,[2] dissuaded him from it on the ground that there were four different views, and all Catholic.

But Luther was in a totally different mind when he wrote to Amsdorf that "The time of silence is past, and the time of speaking is come." In the strict meaning of the terms he was a *Protestant* when he published the theses; he was a *Reformer* when he wrote the treatises of 1520. What, then, were the principles on which, according to Luther, the Reformation of the Church was to be carried out?

We prefer to take the treatises in what we believe to be their chronological order, and we find that the appeal to the Nobility proclaims the theory of the priesthood of all Christians; the Babylonish Captivity appeals to Holy Scripture against the sacramental system of the Church; and the tract on Christian Liberty formulates Luther's early views on Justification by Faith.

The Address to the German Nobility opens with a clear statement of papal claims:—

"The Romanists have, with great adroitness, drawn three walls round themselves, with which they have hitherto protected themselves, so that no one could reform them, whereby

[1] Thesis 11. [2] Pages 19–21.

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all Christendom has fallen terribly. Firstly, if pressed by the temporal power, they have affirmed and maintained that the temporal power has no jurisdiction over them, but, on the contrary, that the spiritual power is above the temporal. Secondly, if it were proposed to admonish them with the Scriptures, they objected that no one may interpret the Scriptures but the Pope. Thirdly, if they are threatened with a Council they pretend that no one may call a council but the Pope."

In other words, the Papacy means supremacy over the State, supremacy over the Bible, and supremacy over the Church as represented by an Œcumenical Council. "Now, may God help us," continues Martin Luther, "and give us one of the trumpets that overthrew the walls of Jericho, so that we may blow down these walls of straw and paper." So far we might be inclined to say with Dr. Buchheim, that Martin Luther was an "Old Catholic" and not a Lutheran; in fact, on all these points, the English Church is with him. But when we ask what is the *principle* on which Luther opposes papal claims we find that he is neither Old Catholic, nor Anglican, nor Catholic, but simply Lutheran. The principle is a very simple one. All baptized people are, by their baptism, priests. They are all (women as well as men, logically, though Luther does not say this) priests and Popes.[1] But—

"Since we are all priests alike, no man may put himself forward, or take upon himself, without our consent or election, to do that which we have all alike power to do. . . . A priest should be nothing in Christendom but a functionary. As long as he holds his office he has precedence of others; if he is deprived of it he is a peasant and a citizen like the rest. Therefore a priest is verily no longer a priest after deposition."

This theory will gladden the hearts of our Congregationalist friends. No wonder papal walls fell before it. For Rome had held true to the Bible view that, by the imposition of hands according to the will of God and the unchanging order of His Church, an indelible character was impressed upon the

[1] Page 22.

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priest. Luther's theory of the ministry, for priesthood it was not, declared him at once to be the founder of a sect. The theory had only to be put into practice and the breach with Catholic antiquity becomes apparent. The priest became a pastor, the bishop was replaced by a superintendent. The minister was the deputy of the congregation, told off to preach and minister the Sacraments. Luther was quite logical. So was the Roman Church in excommunicating him, for Luther's principle and that of the Catholic Church are mutually exclusive.

Dr. Wace, in his Preface, has some astounding statements on this subject. He apparently accepts the Lutheran view of delegation, and even quotes "our own Hooker" as favouring it, in contrast to the view that the restriction of priestly functions to the clergy is dependent upon "regular devolution from Apostolic authority."[1] And as if Hooker was not enough, we have a foot-note referring us to the late Mr. Keble's Preface to Hooker's works.[2] If anybody looked at

[1] Page xxviii.

[2] [It has seemed best to reproduce this article in the form in which it appeared in the *Guardian*, since Mr. Moore's comparison between Hooker and Luther has a value of its own, apart from the passage which called it forth; but it is due to Dr. Wace that some comment should accompany such a reproduction, and accordingly the following explanation is reprinted from the *Guardian* of February 6, 1884:—]

FIRST PRINCIPLES OF THE REFORMATION.

SIR,—In a review (admirable as your reviews generally are) in your penultimate issue of Drs. Wace and Buchheim's recent edition of Luther's primary works you have been, I cannot but think, a little unjust to the editors of that work in your zeal to give it an unusually early notice. It seems, indeed, that some of your criticisms apply rather to some previous and immature form of the book than that in which it issues to the general public from the house of Mr. Murray. You refer not only to "our own Hooker" in words which I do not find in Dr. Wace's excellent Introduction, but also to a non-existent footnote referring to Keble's Preface to his edition of that writer; and then you say (*Guardian*, January 9, p. 60, c. 1), "If anybody looked at references not much harm would be done." Mindful of the legacy of Martin Routh, I have looked in vain for *these* references, and, having in common with many others a sense of profound obligation to Luther and his work, as well as a feeling of what is due to two worthy friends and colleagues, I am anxious to call attention to the gratuitous nature of your remarks so far as they depend upon the references I have mentioned. With regard to the far more important question at issue, in which "our own Hooker" and others are involved, I say nothing more than that it would perhaps be better that Luther and Dr. Wace should be suffered to speak for themselves as they do in this book,

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references not much harm would be done; but as things are, the passage is calculated to convey an utterly false view of both Hooker and Mr. Keble. For really Hooker and Martin Luther had the most superficial resemblance in this matter. Hooker's view of the priesthood certainly did not exclude what Dr. Wace calls "regular devolution from Apostolic authority," Luther's view as certainly did. The priesthood of the baptized Christians was no discovery or rediscovery of Luther's. His discovery was that the priesthood of all destroyed the priesthood of the priest. St. Paul, of course, recognized the doubly representative character of the priest. He was the representative of God to the people, the ambassador, the steward or dispenser, speaking authoritatively "in the person of Christ;" but he was also the representative of the people to God, "your servants for Christ's sake." Even the Roman hierarchy had, in word if not in deed, preserved the double truth, for the Vicar of Christ was at least in name still *servus servorum.* But what about our own Hooker? It seems incredible that a professor of ecclesiastical history should have supposed that Hooker could have had part or lot with the views of Martin Luther in the face of such passages as "Eccl. Pol.," Bk. V. ch. lxxvii.:—"They (the clergy) are therefore ministers of God, not only by way of subordination, as princes and civil magistrates, whose execution of judgment and justice the supreme hand of Divine providence doth uphold, but ministers of God, as from whom their authority is derived, and not from men. For in that they are Christ's

and then, I think, it must be admitted that if, as Dr. Wace says, page xxviii., the restriction of priestly functions as "dependent upon regular devolution from Apostolic authority" is "a secondary point" all will allow that the thing restricted is and must be of higher importance than the forms and conditions restricting it, and in fact that the thing so restricted is ultimately that and that only which gives force or weight to the forms and conditions by which it is restricted. It is the power in the Church derived from Christ's own word, which gives power to those forms and conditions, and not the forms and conditions from which the power is derived. And this, as it seems, was one of Luther's First Principles.

STANLEY LEATHES, D.D.

Cliffe Rectory, January 26, 1884.

[The review was written from "advanced sheets," which contained the words and the foot-note in question. We are glad that they were omitted, but we had no notice of the fact.—Ed. *G.*]

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ambassadors and His labourers, who should give them their commission but He whose most inward affairs they manage? . . . O wretched blindness, if we admire not so great power, more wretched if we consider it aright, and notwithstanding imagine that any but God can bestow it!" One more quotation, out of numbers that would be appropriate, we give in order to point the contrast between the views of Hooker and of Luther. In the Address to the Nobility we have:—"A priest is verily no longer a priest after deposition. But now they have invented *characteres indelebiles*, and pretend that a priest after deprivation still differs from a simple layman."[1] To the words *characteres indelebiles* one of the editors appends the foot-note:—"In accordance with a doctrine of the Roman Catholic Church, the act of ordination impresses upon the priest an indelible character, so that he immutably retains the sacred dignity of priesthood." Let us hear what Hooker has to say about this:—"To whom Christ hath imparted power, both over that mystical body which is the society of souls, and over that natural which is Himself for the knitting of both in one; . . . the same power is in such not amiss both termed a kind of mark or *character* and acknowledged to be *indelible*."[2] Apparently the author of the foot-note agrees as little with Hooker as Hooker does with Luther. But what did Hooker mean by those passages in which verbally, at all events, he seems to accept the theory of Luther? Here, as Mr. Keble points out, he is simply transferring to the ecclesiastical sphere views which were generally received in his day as to the origin of civil government. But while Luther's theory of the priesthood of all was a protest against the monarchical claims of the Roman system, Hooker's theory was an argument in favour of "the hereditary monarchy of the Apostle's successors."[3] It is no doubt remarkable, as Mr. Keble notices, that the same theory as to the origin of civil power should be made, as it is by Justinian, "the cornerstone of the Cæsarean despotism," and the basis of Liberal

[1] Page 22. [2] "Eccl. Pol.," V. ch. lxxvii. 1.
[3] See Mr. Keble's Preface, p. lxxviii.

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politics in modern times. But it is not without its parallels. For Hobbes and Rousseau both had a quaint theory as to the origin of society. And Hobbes developed Absolutism from it, and Rousseau, we need hardly say, did not. And if Martin Luther and Richard Hooker accepted the same theory as to the priestly power, it is worth noticing that one employed it to overthrow, the other to support, what we may briefly call the Apostolical succession. Those who are familiar with the internal discussions of the Council of Trent will remember that the theory, in the form which Hooker gives it, had strong support within the Roman Church. The constant discussions on "the representing clause"—*i.e.* as to whether the Œcumenical Council should be said to represent the whole Church, really involved the question whether the Council derived its authority from the Pope or the Church. We only quote this to show that there is a theory of delegated power which is consistent with a belief in an Apostolical ministry; but we contend that Luther's setting of that theory is *not*.

Dr. Wace is guilty of using a most misleading phrase when he speaks of laity and clergy possessing powers "the same in kind." Things which are different and yet are "the same in kind" differ only in degree, and something of this sort Luther meant. But Dr. Wace cannot mean to endorse this view. If by "the same in kind" we mean that the grace of Baptism and the grace of Orders have a common source, it is obviously true. "There are diversities of gifts but the same Spirit." But to say that the gifts do not differ in kind because they both alike come from God, is either untrue or misleading. It was necessary to Luther's argument, because he wanted the laity to see that powers which they had given they might take away—as a modern congregation of Independents might deal with their minister; but it is inconsistent altogether with the theory of the English Church. The fact that the Holy Spirit at Pentecost descended upon all who were gathered together, so that "they were all filled with the Holy Ghost," did not suggest to them that they were all apostles. In the Old Testament the promise, "Ye shall be unto me a kingdom of priests, and an holy nation" (Ex. xix. 6), was misused by

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Korah when he said to Moses and Aaron, "Ye take too much upon you, seeing all the congregation are holy, every one of them" (Numb. xvi. 3), and in the Church of Christ it had an ominous sound when the words of St. Peter, "Ye are a royal priesthood, a holy nation," were used by Martin Luther in appealing to the laity against the clergy.

If we were in any doubt as to the *animus* with which Luther applies his principle, it would be removed when we see how he uses it against "the three walls" of the Papacy. Every baptized Christian is a priest. "We are all equal, but guilt makes one subject to another." Hence the secular arm must do its duty and reform the spiritual "without respect of Pope, bishops, or priests."[1] Then, all being priests, all have an equal right to interpret the Scriptures:—"We should boldly judge what they (the Popes) do and what they leave undone, by our own understanding of the Scriptures, and force them to follow the better understanding and not their own. . . . Balaam's ass was wiser than the prophet. If God spoke by an ass against a prophet, why should He not speak by a pious man against the Pope?"[2] This, we need hardly say, was before Carlstadt and Zwingli applied the Lutheran principle in its literalness. Still a lingering respect for Church authority suggested an appeal to a "true free council," which, at least in his earlier days, Luther professed himself willing to obey.

The rest of this Address to the German Nobility is what we cannot but call an inflammatory appeal to the laity against the Church, and such an appeal is seldom in vain, especially when page after page applies the argument to the pocket. See how much good money Rome takes from you and from Germany! If ever a Church was open to accusation from this side it was the Roman Church of Luther's age. And the nobles were sensitive on the subject. It is not only the "wavering commons," of whom it is true that—

"Their love
Lies in their purses; and whoso empties them,
By so much fills their heart with deadly hate."

[1] Page 24. [2] Page 27.

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The enormous success of the Address to the Nobility, "the manifesto of the Reformation," as Dr. Buchheim calls it, is surely not very unaccountable. We think "our own Hooker" has enunciated a principle which will go far to explain it, when in the opening words of the "Ecclesiastical Polity" he says—"He that goeth about to persuade a multitude that they are not so well governed as they ought to be, shall never want attentive and favourable hearers."

But it would be unjust and ungenerous to Martin Luther, and to those to whose labours we are indebted for the translations of his treatises if, after pointing out what we believe to be the false principle on which his appeal to the nobility rests, we said nothing of the spiritual impulse which originated it. Luther wrote in the fulness of righteous indignation. And the world owes to the great friar a debt of gratitude for his noble reiteration of the truth that the gifts of God are without money and without price. His constant appeal to Holy Scripture, his insistance on the reality of baptismal grace and the greatness of the baptized, his jealousy of everything which seemed to throw into the shade the great central fact of Christ crucified, his vigorous protest against the corruptions of his age, his denunciations of the evil of enforced celibacy—these are things which the world will never forget. They were truths uttered at the risk of his life at a time when men seemed settling down to a hopeless state of *laisser faire.* How much other countries owed to these early treatises we shall never know. To say that they owe nothing is as untrue as to say that they owe everything. And if the post-Tridentine Church of Rome and the Reformed Church of England have nothing which we can call Lutheran in their theology, it is only because we include under that name what is worst and not what is best in Luther's teaching.

It would be easy to trace in the two later treatises, as we have done in the first, the way in which a truth, onesidedly grasped, gradually becomes an error. The treatise on the Babylonish Captivity is pre-eminently the appeal to Holy Scripture against the Pope. It discusses the Seven Sacraments, and on Scriptural grounds reduces them to three.

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The same conclusion is arrived at in the first formulary of faith ever put forth in England—the Ten Articles. And this is the more interesting because Henry VIII. won his title *Fidei Defensor* for his refutation of Luther's treatise on the Babylonish Captivity (a fact, presumably, so well known that neither the theological nor the historical Introduction, so far as we remember, mentions it), and yet it was Henry's spirit which breathed in the Ten Articles of 1536. The *Assertio Septem Sacramentorum* was forgotten, and the Defender of the Faith agreed with his great rival in reducing the seven to three. Of the reality of these three Sacraments, however we reconcile it with his theory of the ministry, Luther did not doubt. Indeed it was to emphasize the greatness of the baptismal gift that he wrote those terrible words:—

"We see, then, how rich the Christian or baptized man is, since, even if he would, he cannot lose his salvation by any sins, however great, unless he refuses to believe; for no sins whatever can condemn him but unbelief alone."[1]

It was only a year afterwards that he wrote from the Wartburg, "Be a sinner and sin lustily, but be more lusty in faith, and rejoice in Christ. . . . It is enough that, by the riches of the glory of God, we recognize the Lamb which taketh away the sins of the world. Sin will not pluck us away from Him, even though a thousand times, a thousand times a day, we commit fornication or murder." A year had developed his style, but it had not changed his principle. For the false view of justification by faith, as distinguished from the view of St. Paul, dominates this treatise on the Babylonish Captivity, as it does the later writings. And though the importance of good works is admitted in word, the harmony of the parts of truth is destroyed. Even the appeal to Holy Scripture is often an appeal to the letter rather than to the spirit. And hence Luther's false views on marriage. Our Lord spoke strongly against divorce; but in the Old Testament polygamy was allowed. Therefore, in the section on marriage we find the words, "I, for my part, detest divorce, and even prefer bigamy to it."[2] Luther had the

[1] Page 185. [2] Page 226.

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courage of his opinions, and advised his friend the landgrave to have two wives. For a moment, and for a moment only, we get the recognition of Church authority in settling the canon of Scripture. For a moment he touched a principle which might have corrected the waywardness of his own private opinions, and been a bulwark against the arrogance of modern criticism.

"This power," he says, "the Church certainly has, that she can distinguish the Word of God from the words of men. Augustine confesses that his motive for believing the Gospel was the authority of the Church which declared it to be Gospel."[1]

O si sic omnia! Yet within a few pages he falls foul of the Epistle of St. James. At present he is content to discredit it. It was later on that he discovered it was "an Epistle of straw."

The "Christian Liberty" begins with a paradox "characteristic of great genius," as Dr. Wace says. "A Christian man is the most free lord of all, and subject to none; a Christian man is the most dutiful servant of all, and subject to every one."[2] But if the Pope was more ready to remember that he was Vicar of Christ than "servant of servants," Luther as often forgot that he was "subject to every one." It is quite true that he insists that real liberty must be Christian liberty, or it becomes licence. But he gave no safeguard that was really safe, since he himself began playing fast and loose with the Word of God. So it was in the matter of civil authority. Luther talked of "the murderous robber bands of the peasants." And yet there was a sentence of his which they might have inscribed upon their banners: "If a priest is killed the country is laid under an interdict; why not also if a peasant is killed? Whence comes all this difference among equal Christians? Simply from human laws and inventions."[3] The logic of the peasants was instinctive, but it was logic none the less.

The title "First Principles of the Reformation" challenges criticism and careful scrutiny at the hands of those

[1] Page 228. [2] Page 104. [3] Page 25.

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who are dutiful children of the Reformed Church of England. And examination confirms us in the view that Luther's great treatises embody, not the principles of the Reformation, but the principles of Lutheranism. Their teaching on the priesthood of the baptized transforms a truth into an error; the doctrine of Justification as stated in them, if it does not pave the way for antinomianism, at least lays down no principles which can oppose it; the appeal to Holy Scripture offered no safeguard against rationalism; while even the vindication of Christian liberty leaves "an indifference to a possibilitie of licentiousnesse."

The editors have done a great work which perhaps they never intended. They have shown us Luther at his best, and history has completed the picture. It is impossible to read these treatises without admiring the wisdom of the English Reformers, who, while they represented all that was noblest and truest in Luther's impulse, avoided all that was distinctive of Luther's teaching.

VI.

The Influence of Luther on the English Reformation.

[The following notes, by Mr. Moore, fill three sides of a sheet of note-paper, and are printed here in order to show what his opinions were on this important point.]

Apology.—Luther identified with Reformation.

Two diametrically opposed views—the *conventional* and the *historical*.

Two historical axioms [may be assumed].

(i.) No great revolution without its causes.

The desire of reformation "in the air" in the fifteenth century, and the Papacy the great opposing power. Therefore any deformation impossible without an attack on papal claims—hence *Pisa*, *Constance*, and *Basle*.

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(ii.) The same cause under different conditions acts differently.

Difference of conditions in England and on the Continent.

Political.

In England, Reformation was a return to constitutional freedom from Rome.

On the Continent, a revolt against papal tyranny.

In England, national independence no new claim.

On the Continent, nationalism was struggling against imperialism.

Louis IX. and Philip le Bel a contrast to Edward [I.] and Henry [VIII.].

Religious.

Philosophically, the Reformation, as a movement of thought, was the assertion of the subjective against the objective.

The religious side of this is faith *versus* works, intentions *versus* acts.

Revolt against unreality in England, Germany, and Switzerland, and its counterpart in Jesuitism.

The two great Lutherans who influenced the course of the English Reformation were *Bucer* and *Melanchthon*, joint authors of Hermann's [of Cologne] "Consultation" [1543].

The Augsburg Confession [1530], and Luther's [favourable] verdict on it [Köstlin, p. 411].

Its history—*Confessio Variata*, 1540, to conciliate the Swiss.

Confessio Saxonica, 1551. Maurice of Saxony.

I. *Justification by Faith.*

Luther's "Esto Peccator."

St. Paul's view opposed to Roman and Lutheran.

II. *The reality of sacramental grace.*

England opposed to Swiss view, which *denies;* and Lutheran, which *rationalizes.*

The revival of spiritual life. Subjective against objective was the common, not the Lutheran element, in the Reforma-

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tion, which lives in all the holiest of the Romans—Sadolet, Pole, Juan Valdez, and even Carranza, to say nothing of the saintly Carlo Borromeo, nephew of Pius IV.

At the beginning of the Reformation—

England represents the political revolt.

The Continent, Germany, and Switzerland, independently, the religion.

Luther and Henry began at different ends.

Luther protests against abuses, questioning of doctrine, breaks with Papacy.

Henry VIII., breach with Rome—renewal of Papal abuses—recasting of doctrine.

The two movements went on side by side, but distinct.

Luther recognized Henry's protest against Rome, but would not accept the divorce.

Henry recognized Luther's attack on the common enemy, but would not accept the Augsburg Confession.

On doctrine Henry and Luther were opposed.

Lutherans, like the Lollards, were persecuted under the term "heretics," while the Reformation in England was making rapid progress.

To the end of Henry's reign, i.e. *a year after Luther's death, the English Church had no sympathy with Lutheran doctrines. It was Roman Catholic in everything but the admission of the papal claims in England.*

Reformation in doctrine did not begin till Edward VI.['s reign].

Here we get a point of contact in the Augsburg Interim (1548).

Influx of Lutherans—*Bucer, Peter Martyr, John à Lasco,* etc.

[Difference between] FIRST PRAYER-BOOK AND THE SECOND [shows] Lutheran influence on Cranmer.

Return to Rome under Mary—the result.

In Elizabeth's reign the Puritans [looked to] Zürich, not Wittenberg.

What formularies had weight? *Augsburg Confession,*

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1530; *Würtemberg Confession*, 1551. [See Laurence, pp. 43, 229, 233.]

What foreigners? *Bucer and Melanchthon.*

VII.

THE INFLUENCE OF CALVINISM ON MODERN UNBELIEF.

[It is not known before what society the following paper was read. Isolated phrases from it occur in the introduction to Mr. Moore's "Holy Week Addresses," published in 1888.]

My object in the present paper is not to assert, or even to prove, the influence which Calvinism has, as a matter of fact, had upon unbelief, but to show the inner inherent connection between the two. It often happens that doctrines are enunciated which carry with them conclusions very far from the mind of the author. It is a matter of historical fact that the followers of John Wiclif were socialists, and it is an interesting question to discuss whether there was any inner connection between his teaching and theirs. It is one thing to say that Wiclif was a socialist; it is quite another to say that he enunciated principles which were developed into conclusions from which he would have recoiled. In the history of speculative thought we constantly meet with the same thing. John Locke, whatever he was, was not an atheist; yet Hume's conclusions were deduced from Locke's premisses. The question, then, that I propose to discuss is this—What is there in Calvinistic theology which, however little Calvin meant it, works itself out into a rejection of the Faith of Christ?

That I am not inventing a thesis in order to maintain it may be made clear by reference to facts of which we are all more or less aware. Only I must explain at once that by "unbelief" I do not necessarily mean "atheism" or "agnosticism." I mean the rejection of that which we all agree to call the Gospel of Jesus Christ; that is to say, the historical fact of the life and death and resurrection of Jesus, the theological truth of the Incarnation and the Divinity of our Lord,

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and all that under various names flows to us from that central fact of revelation. If Calvinism has encouraged the transition from Christianity to Arianism, or Socinianism, or Unitarianism, or any form of non-Christian theism, my thesis will have been proved, whether or no theism passes on into philosophical pantheism, and from that, as with Strauss, to a practical, if not a speculative, denial of God. By unbelief I simply mean the rejection of what is distinctive of Christian theology.

Two or three facts have forced the question into prominence in my own thought lately.

(i.) First of all, in reading the Reformation History, I find that while antinomianism dogs the heels of Lutheranism, it is Unitarianism which is constantly appearing among the Swiss school. Servetus was the first of a long series, followed rapidly as he was by the two Socinuses, all apparently in good faith starting from orthodox Calvinism, and being eventually repudiated by their co-religionists.

(ii.) This was one fact which made me think. Another was that [I once had occasion to investigate the history of] a Unitarian chapel. Unitarianism [in the place in question] was dying or dead. It was kept alive by two adventitious causes: (*a*) A string band, the members of which composed almost the whole of the congregation; and (*β*) an endowment. The chapel was supported by a Unitarian minister who drove out every Sunday from [a neighbouring town], and left his people from Sunday to Sunday to the parish priest. There was something so anomalous in this state of things, there being obviously no demand for Unitarianism, that for a long time I was puzzled as to its endowment. At last I discovered that it was a *Presbyterian* endowment which had passed into Unitarian [hands], and had been recognized as Unitarian by the Dissenting Chapels Act of 1844. On further investigation I found that this was true of a large number of similar endowments—a fact which struck me at the time as strange, but which has since connected itself with other facts.

(iii.) Another fact, which came as a corroboration of what was now a growing suspicion in my mind, viz. that Calvinism

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was *implicitly* inconsistent with Christianity, was the recent discussion which has taken place between Mr. Spurgeon and the Baptist Union. We have been told that the sect of the Baptists is honeycombed by unbelief, and Mr. Spurgeon, in order to be true to the Gospel of Christ, feels obliged to separate himself from them. Everybody knows about this controversy as it exists at present, but everybody does not know that it began four years ago in an address by Mr. Spurgeon, which I then cut out of the daily paper, in which he not only stated that the Baptists were "going over to the Unitarians," but gave as the reason of it that they were becoming "too philosophical." It seemed to me that the two things held together—first, that the Baptists were abandoning Calvinism for Unitarianism; and secondly, that they were "philosophical" in doing so. To this a few other facts may be added for what they are worth. (α) Calvin, the year after he published the "Institutes," refused to accept the three Creeds, and was charged with being an Arian. (β) The Westminster Assembly, in revising the English Articles, omitted that on the Creeds. (γ) The great Puritan poet, Milton, abandoned Christianity for Arianism.

But there is another line of argument which at first looks very different, and which tends in the same way. For various reasons I have lately studied a good deal of infidel literature, from books like Cotter Morison's "Service of Man," down to Bradlaugh's "Freethinker's Text-book," and the coarser and more blasphemous writings of the *Freethinker*, and atheistical tracts. And I have found not only that in one and all the religion which is caricatured is Calvinism, but that the criticism frequently falls to the ground if we are able to say that Calvinism is not Christianity. In this case it is rather by reaction than by direct logical evolution that Calvinism tends in the direction of unbelief. At a certain stage of its growth the moral consciousness revolts from Calvinism, and either, under stress of the reaction, abandons its faith altogether, or works back to historical and Catholic Christianity. Few things are more pathetic than the attempts of John Stuart Mill to construct a new theology on the basis of the truth

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that God is love when his nature had revolted from his father's creed. The reaction, though different in degree, is the same in kind when we trace it in the noble protest of men like Maurice and Kingsley and Robertson, with whom the recovery of the central truth of Christianity, that God is love, came as almost a new gospel. I am giving what is only my own opinion, which I entirely submit to the authority of the Church, when I say that those who reject the Catholic eschatology because they have only known it in its Calvinistic dress, certainly cannot be judged as men who wantonly reject truth.

The problem, then, as I put it to myself, was—What is there in Calvinism which leads some men by direct logical result, and others by reaction and revolt, into a rejection of the Gospel of Jesus Christ which Calvin certainly held and intended to set forth?

I am at once met by the difficulty—What is Calvinism? and in which of its many forms has it influenced English thought? It is obviously not fair to charge upon Calvin views which belong to a later development, or to credit his followers with views which Calvin may have held and they may have abandoned. Still more unfair would it be to quote the violent utterances of Calvinistic preachers at the present or any other time. We must get back to documents and authoritative statements. In the early days of the Reformation it was first Lutheranism and then Zwinglianism which chiefly influenced the English Reformers. The Articles, as Archbishop Laurence has shown, are unintelligible except in relation to those views; but there is no certain reference to Calvinism, and a strong presumption that in what are commonly called the Calvinistic Articles, *e.g.* the seventeenth, on Predestination, the compilers were not dealing with Calvin and his views at all, but with certain scholastic views connected with that doctrine which was the *bête noire* of the Reformation, viz. "merit of congruity." Calvin's "Institutes" was published in 1536, but in 1549 he was so little known in England that one of his works then translated was stated to be by "Master John Calvin, a man of right excellent learning, and of no less

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conversation."[1] It was in that year, the year of the "Consensus Tigurinus," that Calvin freed himself from complicity in the Consubstantiation doctrine, and not till three years afterwards (1551) that the great Predestination controversy, with which Calvin's name is so closely connected, began.[2] It is a well-ascertained and demonstrated fact that the Articles of the English Church in the revision under Archbishop Parker were modelled on Lutheran models; first on the Augsburg Confession, and then on the *Confessio Wirtembergensis;* and while they carefully rejected all that was Lutheran but not Catholic—as they avowedly rejected the Zwinglian views—the doctrines of Calvin are neither accepted nor rejected, nor, as far as can be proved, even alluded to. That Calvin's personal influence was felt as early as the beginning of Edward VI.'s reign is seen by the fact that the Communion Office of 1548 was translated into Latin and sent to him by Miles Coverdale.[3] After this time we find him sending advice to the king, and recognized as an authority by the Marian exiles both before and after their return. But for an attempt of Calvinism to assert itself in England, we must go to the Lambeth Articles of 1595, to the Hampton Court Conference of 1604, and to the Westminster Assembly of 1643. Both the Hampton Court Conference and the Westminster Assembly are of special importance, because they show exactly what Calvinism was in contradistinction to the teaching of the English Church. Even the Westminster Assembly started with an attempt to revise the Thirty-nine Articles, or, as their own historian puts it, "to render their sense more express and determinate in favour of Calvinism."[4] The Assembly, however, only got as far as the sixteenth Article, and gave up the task as hopeless. It is, then, to the Lambeth Articles, the Hampton Court Conference, and the Westminster Assembly that we must turn for English Calvinism. And it is clearly unfair to assume *à priori* that Calvin is responsible for the later forms of Calvinism.

[1] Laurence, p. 236. [2] *Ibid.*, pp. 236, 237.
[3] "Original Letters," No. xix., p. 31, March 26, 1548.
[4] Neal, ii. 215.

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But though we have no right to assume it *à priori*, I believe there is but little difficulty in proving it as a fact. We often hear it said the Calvinists went far beyond Calvin. My own study of the question leads to a diametrically opposite conclusion. I doubt whether any of Calvin's followers went as far as Calvin himself. The most profoundly immoral and revolting tenets of Calvinism are to be found in the "Institutes," and Calvin himself never receded from, but advanced upon the position he originally took up.

There seem to me two ways in which we might attempt to state Calvinistic theology. We might either take its central doctrine, the doctrine of Predestination, by which it is chiefly known, and which most clearly distinguishes it from the Zwinglian type of Swiss theology, or we might attempt to present Calvinism as a whole, reasoned out with logical coherence from its fundamental principle.

I propose to adopt the latter course, both because Calvin himself was a vigorously logical reasoner—and we may feel pretty sure that we are in the main working on his lines—and also because it will help us to understand the interaction of all the parts of a theology or an author.

Now, we may arrange any theology under these four heads: (1) *Theology* proper, the doctrine of God; (2) *Anthropology*, its teaching about man; (3) *Soteriology*, its doctrine of salvation and the means of grace; and (4) *Eschatology*, its teaching as to the last things. But though we may, for convenience' sake, map out our subject thus, we cannot keep the parts distinct. For the view which any theologian holds about God must condition his view of man, and sometimes it is through what he tells us about man that we arrive at his fundamental view of God. Religion is a relation between God and man; theology is a reasoned account of the related terms and of the relation which subsists between them.

I begin, however, with Calvin's view of God. And here, explain it as we may, Calvin and Zwingli have in common something which distinguishes both from the theology of Luther. It seems as if, by an unconscious agreement, the theologies which originated at the Reformation divided

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among them the Christian view of God. Just as in earlier days heretics separated the Gospels and made each severally the basis for a one-sided Christianity, while the Church united them into a harmonious whole, so the Saxon and the Swiss theologies tore asunder the seamless robe of Christian truth. Luther starts with God as love; Zwingli and Calvin with God as power. Of the two, Luther was infinitely nearer to the Catholic view. "God is love" is the starting-point of all true theology, but the Lutheran view rapidly drifted away into a false view of what love is; and in preaching the freedom of forgiveness, however little Luther meant it, opened the door to lawlessness and sin. "*Pecca fortiter sed fortius crede*" is, to say the least of it, a dangerous teaching in an age of disintegration. On the other hand, no true theology teaches that God is omnipotence. He is omnipotent, yet even that is not true without qualification. There is much God *cannot* do. He *cannot* recall the past; He *cannot* deny Himself; He *cannot* do that which is wrong; He *cannot*, Catholic theology would add, save man in spite of Himself. With Calvin the thought of God's omnipotence throws all His other attributes into the shade. I do not mean that Calvin, *totidem verbis*, denies that God is good and just and loving, but that the dominant conception is that of Almightiness. There is, indeed, something wonderfully grand in Calvin's conception of the majesty of Jehovah, something which naturally connects itself with Old Testament theology. In fact, Calvin writes in an Old Testament atmosphere when he speaks of God. I think he reads the New Testament through the Old, rather than the Old through the New. It would be quite impossible for Calvin to be betrayed into the coarse familiarity which shows itself in Luther's [notion of his] relations with God. We cannot conceive of Calvin saying, "I told the Almighty I would have no more to do with Him unless a sick friend (Philip Melanchthon) was restored to health." But, on the other hand, Calvin seems to us cold and hard and unloving when he speaks of God. Clear, cold, logical,—all this he is; but he is the antithesis of St. Augustine. It seems as if the rational and mystical elements in human nature, which

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must meet in a true conception of God, had fallen apart; and while Luther's theology was dominated by an unreasoning and unreasonable love, Calvin's was no less dominated by an unloving and unlovable rationalism. Perhaps I have here overstated the antithesis, but I never read Calvin without feeling that the words, "God is love," are strangely out of harmony with his system, infinitely more out of harmony than with the teaching of Lutheranism.

But the Calvinistic conception of God is only intelligible when interpreted by its view of the state of man. And here we may put side by side the teaching of the Catholic Church and the teaching of Calvinism. The Catholic Church teaches that, before the Fall, man as man was in the image of God, *i.e.* was gifted with reason and free-will; that he lived in conscious union with God, and that from that union sprang supernatural gifts. By the Fall this intimate union with God, and therewith the *donum supernaturale*, was lost. Man retained still his natural gifts of reason and free-will, but there is an ἀταξία, or loss of order, in his nature. His free-will is weakened, his vision of God is less clear; there is a bias towards evil in him, because the *frænum cupiditatis* is removed.

Calvinism teaches instead the Ruin of man. It is the first of the Calvinist's three R's.[1] It begins by exaggerating the original state of man, and ends by exaggerating the ruin of the Fall. It denies the supernatural gift and makes original righteousness something inherent in human nature. It attributes to unfallen man free-will, indeed, and gifts of "reason, intelligence, prudence, judgment, sufficient not only for the ordering of his earthly life, but enabling him to pass beyond it to God and eternal life." *In hâc integritate libero arbitrio pollebat homo, quo si vellet adipisci posset æternam vitam.*[2] The difficulty of reconciling this with the predestination doctrine will appear later on. But by the Fall all this is lost. "The image of God is blotted out."[3] He is "banished from God's kingdom in such sort, that all that bears reference

[1] [Possibly, Ruin, Reprobation, and Particular Redemption.]
[2] "Institutes," I. c. xv. § 8.
[3] *Ibid.*, III. c. ii. § 12.

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to the blessed life of the soul is extinct."[1] Elsewhere he says "that, though the Divine image is not utterly made void and destroyed, it was so corrupted that all that remained was horrible deformity."[2] "Nothing survived the ruin but what was confused, mutilated, and defiled." *Dei imago sic vitiata ac prope deleta est, ut nihil ex ruinâ, nisi confusum, mutilum, labeque infectum supersit.*[3] Even what there is of reason and will in fallen man is left there, according to Calvin, only that man might not plead ignorance.

But the "Institutes," after all, in this matter fall short of the later Calvinistic Confessions, apparently because, as the predestination doctrine overshadowed the whole of Calvin's theology, as it did after the controversy with Bolsec, many of the statements of the "Institutes" were treated as survivals of the old theology. When, a hundred years after the "Institutes," the Calvinistic Assembly of Divines attempted to revise the English Articles, they proposed to alter the phrase in Article IX., "is very far gone from original righteousness," into "is wholly deprived of," and would have altered the phrase "inclined to evil" into "inclined *only* to evil." The English Church in this matter refused to adopt the language of the Calvinists afterwards, as in the formulating of her liturgy she had carefully weeded out similar statements from the Lutheran Liturgy of Cologne,[4] which the compilers of our Prayer-book largely used. It would be unfair to credit Calvinism as a system with the extravagances of Calvinistic preachers, especially as probably no Calvinistic tenet has been more frequently exaggerated than the doctrine of man's total depravity. Yet Calvinism is known by the doctrine of total depravity, and its defiant opposition to the facts of human nature, almost as much as by its doctrine of Predestination. And whatever we may say about the extravagances of preachers, they could at least claim the Calvinistic Confessions on their side. Thus, in the first Scotch Confession, 1560, it is said[5] that God's image in man is "deformed," and men have become "enemies of God, servants

[1] "Institutes," III. c. ii. § 12. [2] *Ibid.*, II. c. ii. § 12. [3] *Ibid.*, I. c. xv. § 4.
[4] See Laurence, pp. 283-3. [5] Art. III. Niemeyer, p. 342.

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of Satan, slaves of sin, so that eternal death has and will have power over them, unless they have been, are, or shall be born again from above." The [Belgic] Confession, composed in 1561, says that original sin is "the corruption of the whole nature, a hereditary vice by which infants are polluted in the womb, . . . and is so execrable in God's sight that it suffices for the condemnation of the whole race of man."[1] This second confession admits that "a tiny spark and meagre traces of his former nature remained, enough to make him inexcusable (*adeo ut non nisi exiguæ illorum scintillæ et vestigia exilia illi relicta sint, quæ sufficiant ad homines reddendos inexcusabiles*).[2] The Westminster Confession of 1648 says that [Adam and Eve became] "wholly defiled in all the faculties and parts of soul and body."[3] By the Fall man "became utterly indisposed, disabled, and made opposite to all good, and wholly inclined to all evil." Yet the worst of the Calvinist Confessions falls short of the Lutheran statement, which describes the state of man as "*Intima, pessima, profundissima* (*instar cujusdam abyssi*) *inscrutabilis et ineffabilis corruptio totius naturæ humanæ.*"[4]

We may, perhaps, wonder that the doctrine of total ruin has come to be so closely associated with Calvinism, since Calvin, as compared with Luther, was moderate and almost Catholic, but the explanation is to be found in the doctrine of free-will. Both, at different times, denied free-will. Luther began by denying it (in his controversy with Erasmus), but, without formally retracting, receded from his position, while Melanchthon distinctly recanted,[5] and asserted the freedom of the will, which is to be found in most of the Lutheran formularies. Calvin, in the "Institutes,"[6] recognizes free-will, but as the doctrine of predestination gradually comes to dominate his system, the freedom of the will disappears, and a rigid necessity takes its place. The corruption of man, if not conceived of as so complete by Luther, becomes more hopeless, and the passages in which the ruin was said to be partial

[1] Art. XV. Niemeyer, p. 370.
[2] *Ibid.*, p. 368.
[3] *Ibid.*, Appendix, p. 10.
[4] "Solida Declaratio," § 10, (second part of the "Formula of Concord," 1577), apud Möhler, i. p. 87, f.n.
[5] See Laurence, pp. 248–252, [301 *sqq.*, 407, 408].
[6] II. c. iii.

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came to be obscured by those which spoke of it as complete. This, however, belongs more properly to the subject of predestination.

Predestination is, indeed, the central point, not only of Calvinism, but of Calvin. It is from that point only that we can make the "Institutes" and the Calvinistic confessions consistent with themselves. Now, the teaching of English and Scotch Calvinism on this point admits of no doubt.[1]

It is probably true that no one would, in its literal sense, accept the Westminster Confession, and it is certain that modern Calvinists persistently neutralize the teaching of the Confession by certain more or less recognized glosses. Others, again, attempt to retreat from Calvinism to Calvin, and say that the Calvinists have out-Calvined Calvin. It is worth while asking them how far this double predestination was a structural principle in Calvin's own teaching.

And here, whatever his apologists may say, Calvin is clear and unhesitating. "Predestination," he says, "is the name we give to God's eternal decree, by which He has determined with Himself what He wills to be done with every man. For we are not all of us born in the same condition, but for some eternal life, for others eternal death, is foreordained. So, as each is made for one end or the other, we speak of him as predestined to life or to death."[2] Again, "We assert that those whom He gives over to damnation are, by a just and irreprehensible, [but incomprehensible,] judgment, excluded from all access to eternal life."[3] By God's will (*Dei nutu*) salvation is offered to some, while others are shut out from approach to it.[4] To ignore this is "to diminish the glory of God,"[5] while, from "the terrifying darkness of these doctrines there emerges not only advantages (*utilitas*), but the sweetest results (*suavissimus fructus*)."[6] To it we owe, he says, the certainty of safety, peace of conscience, and the origin of the Church. All this is traced back in this chapter[7] to the

[1] See the Lambeth Articles of 1595, "the nine assertions orthodoxicall," ap. Laurence, pp. 183, 184; and Perry's History, p. 352. The Hampton Court Conference, 1604, wished to add these to the Articles; the Westminster Confession, 1648, leaves no doubt; see it in Niemeyer's Appendix.

[2] "Institutes," iii. c. xxi. § 5. [3] *Ibid.*, § 7.

[4] *Ibid.*, *sub init.* [5] *Ibid.* [6] *Ibid.* [7] *Ibid.*

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absoluteness of God's choice, for which no reason may or can be given, else the "foundation of God's election would be in works."[1] "Therefore," he argues, "if we cannot give a reason why God has mercy on the elect, except that so it pleases Him, so in the reprobation of others we have no cause but God's will. When God is said to harden or to have mercy upon whom He will, men are thereby warned to seek for no cause except His will."[2]

But Calvin has the courage of his opinions. God is said to have ordained the Fall. Thus, when the objection is raised that, "if man perishes in his corruption, he only pays the penalty of a calamity into which, by God's predestination, Adam fell and all his descendants with him," Calvin answers that "all the sons of Adam fell by the will of God into their present state of misery, and as for the reason of it, we must always fall back upon the mere choice of the Divine will, the reason of which is hidden from us."[3] He ridicules the view of those who deny that God decreed that Adam should fall. If God does what He wills, He could not, Calvin argues, have "left anything doubtful as to the end of man, the noblest of created things." He could not have left his fortune in man's own hands. "If such a chilling fiction be allowed," he says, "where would God's omnipotence be, which depends on nothing and orders all things?" "I grant you," he says, "it is a horrible decree, yet no one can deny that God foreknew the end of man before He formed him, and foreknew it because by His own decree He had ordained it."[4]

Beza carries this a step further. He knows not only that God foreordained the Fall and the eternal damnation of all but the elect; he knows why it was. "What," he asks, "was God's purpose in ordaining Adam's fall? Why, to show forth His mercy in the gratuitous salvation of the elect, and to open a way at the same time for His just judgment in condemning the wickedness of the reprobate. If there had been no Fall, there would have been no misery for God to have mercy on, and no wickedness for God to punish!"[5]

[1] "Institutes," III. c. xxii. § 11. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.* c. xxiii. § 4.
[4] *Ibid.*, § 7. [5] Beza, ap. Möhler, i. 60, f.n.

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Calvin struggles in vain to show that, though God ordains the Fall, man is responsible for it. He never deduces it from the abuse of human freedom, for this would imply that man could frustrate the purposes of God. He tries to draw a distinction between "*necessitas*" and "*coactio*." But he will not hear of the view that God "permitted," but did not "will" it.[1] And "God's will is necessity," he says. "If any one denies that God willed the Fall, he is a Pelagian, or a Manichæan, or an Anabaptist, or an Epicurean." "The first man fell because God determined that so it should happen: why He so determined is hidden from us. Yet surely He would not so have determined if He had not seen that it would redound to the glory of His Name. . . . *Cadit igitur homo, Dei providentiâ sic ordinante: sed suo vitio cadit.*"[2] To the objection that this theory of arbitrary election among those who were equally irresponsible savours of "respect of persons," Calvin answers triumphantly, "No. If it was the morally good who were elected and the morally bad were reprobate, this might be so. But God's choice is absolute, irrespective of men. His reasons for choosing or rejecting are sought in His own goodness. He does not choose the noble, or wise, or great; but chooses —there is only one word which for us can express the method—capriciously, arbitrarily, irrationally."

The objection that the "unspeakable comfort" of this doctrine to the elect is balanced by the "wretchlessness of most unclean living," drives Calvin into abuse. The objector maintains, "if a man hears that life or death is determined for him by an eternal and immutable decree, it will immediately occur to him that it makes no difference how he lives, since God's predestination can neither be hindered nor advanced by any act of his."[3] To which Calvin replies that there is some truth in this, for there will always be swine (*porci*) who will defile with such foul blasphemies the doctrine of predestination. But God knows what He intends for us. If He has decreed salvation, He will bring us to it in His own time; if He has appointed us to death, it is in vain that we strive against it.

[1] "Institutes," III. c. xxiii. § 8. [2] *Ibid.* [3] *Ibid.*, § 12.

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I have quoted at length from Calvin because I want to establish certain facts, and to show that there are certain doctrines which we may call structural principles of Calvinism, though in detail Calvin and the Calvinistic Confessions may differ. We have hitherto dealt only with questions of "Theology" and "Anthropology," and the conclusion I come to is this—

1. As to *God.* Calvinism sacrifices everything to the conception of Omnipotence, and in so doing makes God immoral and man non-moral.
2. As to *the Fall.* Calvinism enormously exaggerates the depravity of human nature, though in this matter Calvin is less to blame than the later Calvinistic Confessions, and Calvinism in all its forms is, on this point (treated abstractly), nearer to the Catholic view than the Lutherans.
3. As to *predestination.* I believe no Calvinist Confession ever went so far as Calvin's "Institutes," because no Confession was so logical and so defiant as Calvin was. But the general conception is common to all, and cuts away the ground from morality in either man or God.

I cannot now hope to touch on Soteriological and Eschatological points. I will only just say—as an apology for leaving my subject in the middle—that we have followed Calvinism to a point from which we may deduce almost *à priori* its views on other matters. The *substitution theory* and its *forensic fictions* followed necessarily from the ignoring of any real moral nature in man on which Divine grace could work. Neither Roman nor Anglican theology would admit that fallen man can recover himself. "If any man assert that this sin of Adam, which, originally one, and by propagation, not by imitation, has been transfused into and is in all, can be done away by the strength of human nature, or by any other remedy than by the merit of the one Mediator, our Lord Jesus Christ, who reconciled us to God by His blood, being made to us righteousness, sanctification, and redemption, let him be accursed." So speaks the Council of Trent, Sess. V. § 3.

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So in its own way speaks our own Article X. Yet both would assert that the image of God is marred, not destroyed, and the idea of restoration underlies their view of Christ's redemptive work. Hence the Sacraments become *moral*, not *mechanical* instruments, and the doctrine of irresistible grace is repudiated in defence of the moral nature of man, and a view of freedom without which morality is impossible. My belief is that, if it were worked out, we should find that the Arianism which claims to come out of Calvinism finds its justification mainly in the Calvinistic doctrine of atonement, in which the love of the Son is constantly set over against the justice of the Father, and so the perfect unity of the Godhead is lost, and reason chooses Unitarianism rather than a duality of Gods.

The unbelief which is due to reaction from Calvinistic Christianity will be different in different cases. But the general character is the same. It is the revolt of the moral nature against an immoral religion and immoral views of God.

Difficulties in religion may be intellectual or moral, or, of course, both combined. There is, however, this difference: Intellectual difficulties may conceivably wait, moral difficulties cannot. What I mean is, we are prepared for much in religion which we cannot fully rationalize. A religion which had no mysteries would not be a religion. And then, if the intellectual difficulties lie mainly, as they so often do, in the speculative region, we may still believe that religion is true. But it is otherwise with *moral* difficulties. If religion is seen to be immoral, its reign is over. We cannot have one kind of morality for God and another for man. Conscience, which is the formative principle of religion, is also the great destroyer of a religion seen to be immoral.

Now, the most striking fact in the present day is that unbelief not only claims to be, but so often is, the result of a true protest of the conscience and the moral nature of man. And if Christianity cannot justify itself, and appeal to the highest and truest moral ideas of man, it cannot hope to stand. I for one dare to say it ought not to stand.

If, then, I were asked what was the main cause of unbelief

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in the present day, I should say, not science, not new truths in history and criticism, but a higher tone of morality acting upon an immoral travesty of the gospel of Christ.

Let me just illustrate that in the case of the three points we have examined—the Calvinistic teaching about God and man, and God's purposes regarding man.

(*a*) The one thing which men take for granted, and assert defiantly in the face of all difficulties, in the sphere of religion, is that, if there is a God, He must be all and more than all that we love and venerate and fain would imitate among men. Now, look at the God of Calvin. He is omnipotent. He has in his omnipotence created beings who can feel both in body and mind, and by an immutable and incomprehensible decree He has designed some for misery, some for blessedness. He willed the Fall, and punishes it with death. Yet He gave to man only free-will and reason enough to be a witness against him. Upon this mass of corruption God puts forth His hand and takes some, but passes by the rest irrespective of their doings. How is it possible, by any reading between the lines, to show that such a Being is either good, or just, or rational? The law of His selection is what, amongst men, we call waywardness and caprice; His mercy is as unjust as His punishments, and His love is imperfect, selective, and limited.

In Calvin's own time, Melanchthon attacked the *arbitrariness* of this theory of election. "*Talis electio sine causis videtur tyrannica.*"[1] God's choice is conditioned by man's will. He does not choose *because of human merit*, but the distinction between the elect and the rejected is to be sought, not in God, but in the will of man. God approves and chooses those who obey His call.[2] In the present day, this arbitrariness is as great a difficulty as the injustice. For the science of nature has familiarized all of us with the reign of law. Everywhere we see order and meaning. All down the ages we trace the great law of growth. Cataclysms and episodes we no longer look for. We know God's work in nature and in human history as the calm ordering of law, and it is impossible for us to believe that in religion alone He reveals Himself as

[1] Laurence, p. 414. [2] *Ibid.*, p. 415.

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lawless. But the love and justice of God are no less necessary to us. "*Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?*" is a question which carries its answer with it. We cannot think of Him in His own nature or in His dealing with us except as being all that we mean by good and just. The celebrated words of J. S. Mill are only profane in form. In spirit they represent the noble protest of a moral nature against the immoral Deity of Calvin.[1]

(β) Then there is the Calvinistic view of man, which we have to remind ourselves is still being preached from many pulpits—the doctrine of total ruin. Here the special difficulty is that religion is teaching what is disproved before our eyes. Human nature is not what it ought to be if Calvinism were true. It is impossible to say, without destroying the meaning of words, or confusing the moral judgment, that there is not much good in man. Indeed, it has always been the strength of those who have taught religion that they believed that in every heart there was something which goodness might appeal to. Say what we will, it is still true that "all earthly joys go less to the one joy of doing kindnesses"—that in the most degraded life there is still something of good, some *vestigia Dei*, which may respond to the grace of God. Of all this the Calvinist knows nothing. Man is a corrupt and depraved thing, powerless to do good or to will it, till the grace of God swoops down upon him and recreates him. Till then, he is in no sense a moral being. This is the view which Professor Drummond[2] translated into or disguised in biological terms.

[1] "Examination of Sir W. Hamilton's Philosophy," pp. 128, 129.

"If instead of the 'glad tidings' that there exists a Being in whom all the highest excellences which the human mind can conceive, exist in a degree inconceivable to us, I am informed that the world is ruled by a being whose attributes are infinite, but what they are we cannot learn, nor what are the principles of his government, except that 'the highest human morality which we are capable of conceiving of' does not sanction them; convince me of it, and I will bear my fate as I may. But when I am told that I must believe this, and at the same time call this being by the names which express and affirm the highest human morality, I say in plain terms that I will not. Whatever power such a being may have over me, there is one thing which he shall not do: he shall not compel me to worship him. I will call no being good, who is not what I mean when I apply that epithet to my fellow-creatures; and if such a being can sentence me to hell for not so calling him, to hell I will go."

[2] [In his book "Natural Law in the Spiritual World."]

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He says the unregenerate or unconverted man is spiritually inorganic. He is dead. He doesn't know God. But it is not his fault. He cannot know God. He must wait for a mechanical change, which is somehow to change him into a moral being. I have somewhere in my possession a letter from John Ruskin, written from Italy, some forty or more years ago, in which he rambles off into theological speculations. He had been brought up a rigid Calvinist, well instructed in the Calvinists' three R's, and he had worked away from them, and naively expresses the view as at least a possible one, that the common views of human corruption are a good deal overstated, that perhaps, after all, nature is not wholly bad, that it is only, as he puts it, one of the cogs in the wheel got wrong; the dust of death has got into the delicate machine, and thrown it out of gear. John Ruskin, like J. S. Mill, might have been a loyal member of the Church of Christ if, when he was asking for the bread of Christ, Calvinistic teachers had not given him a stone.

(γ) Of the third point I hardly know how to speak. As a moralist, I can draw no distinction, speculative or practical, between the fatalism of the Stoics, the Predestination doctrine of Calvin, and the Determinism of the modern denier of free-will. Again and again Melanchthon charged Calvinism with Stoic fatalism. Again and again, in modern days, it has been accused of making God the Author of sin. Modern Calvinists repudiate this conclusion, but cling to the premisses from which it necessarily follows. To say that man sins as Adam sinned necessarily, but that that necessity is not external, *coactio*, but *sponte sua*, sounds plausible enough till we find that *sponte sua* does not imply any power of choice or any freedom of the will. To say, as Beza does, that God justly decrees what man is unjust in doing, is to confound moral distinctions.

I have dealt with even the part of the subject that I have touched most imperfectly; and I can only hope that my paper, by its obvious incompleteness, may stimulate others to do what I have failed to do. He will have done a real work for the Faith of Christ who clearly distinguishes between that Faith and the immoralities of Calvinism.

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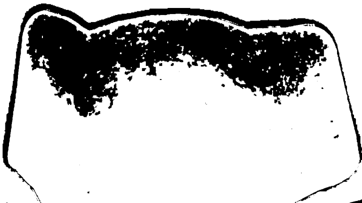

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